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ON INDIAN PROBLEMS

SARDAR PATEL

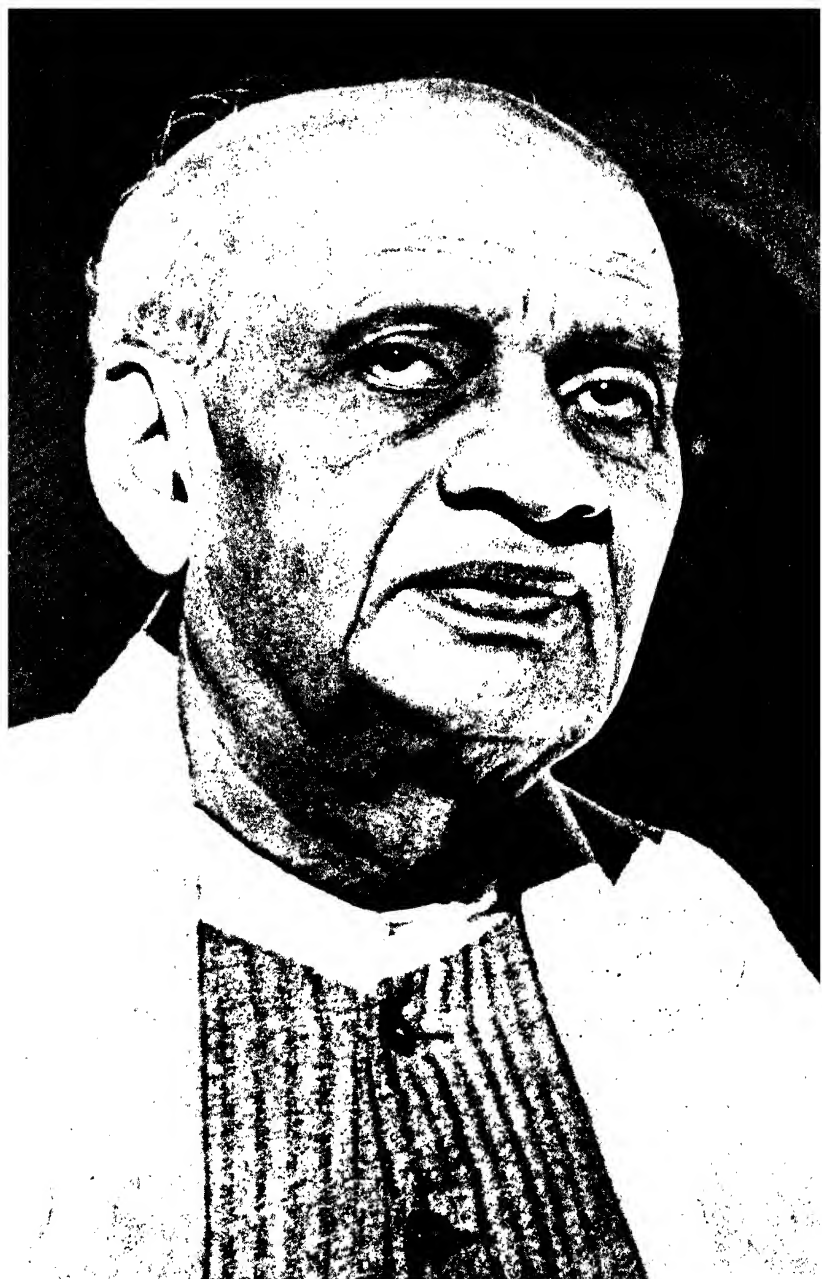
Deputy Prime Minister of the Indian Union



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INTRODUCTION

A number of the more important speeches by Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Indian Union, have been presented in this volume. As far as possible, they have been grouped according to topic, and a chronological order has been maintained. With the exception of a few, all of them were made after August 15, 1947.

The Indian leaders had to accept the plan of partition as a sequel to what is called the communal problem of India. But the problem of the States remained. Indeed no solution of it was attempted either in the June 3 Statement or in the Indian Independence Act. On the contrary, the British declaration on the lapse of Paramountcy after August 15 added to the complexity of the problem. A lasting solution to the States problem was thus of supreme concern to the Indian Union.

The manner in which the Deputy Prime Minister, who is also the Minister for the newly created States Department, has sought to solve the problem, will remain a glorious chapter in the history of India's achievements since August 15. In one bold sweep, the bastions of autocracy and reaction raised by British diplomacy in the past have been brought down. In his speeches on the States, Sardar Patel has set forth in unequivocal terms and with unmistakable emphasis the policy he has followed with regard to them. As a result, "integration and democratization", as the Deputy Prime Minister tersely phrased it, have been achieved in the case of all the States except one on which history has yet to write the last, inevitable chapter. Two maps of India have been given to show the achievement of Sardar Patel in integrating a vast territory and fitting it into the new pattern of Free India.

On communalism, industrial unrest, and similar other problems, too, Sardar Patel has spoken with characteristic forthrightness; he has indicated the path that patriotic Indians must follow to build the India of tomorrow, and be her worthy citizens. Indeed, these speeches are an essential contribution to the history of Free India since August 15, 1947.

Most of the speeches were made at public meetings in Hindi. They have been collected from various sources, including newspapers.

*New Delhi,
August 15, 1948.*

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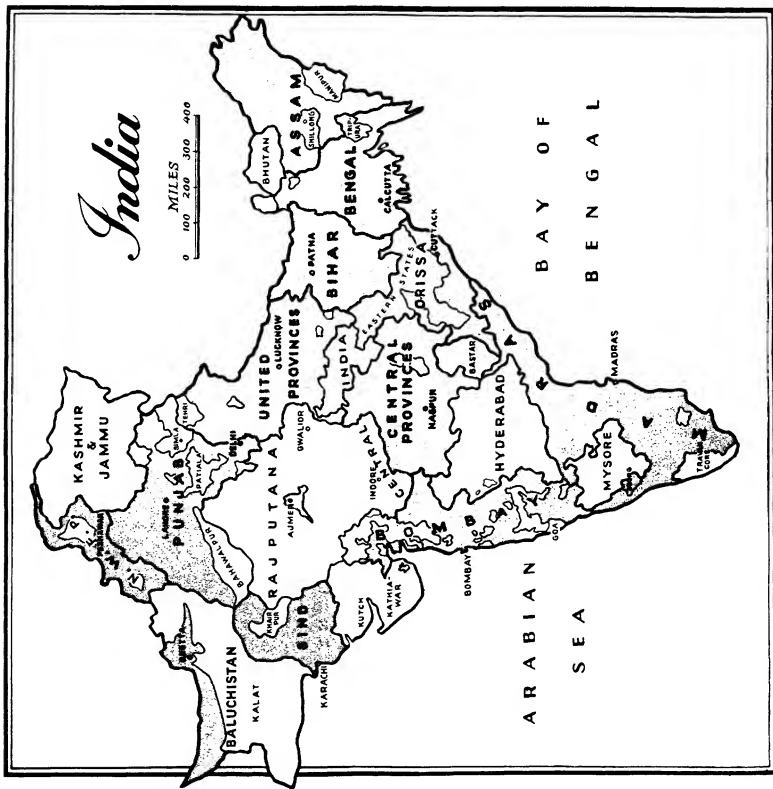
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India Showing Provinces and States Before

August 15, 1947

PROVINCES

STATES



ON THE STATES

“ NO IMPASSABLE BARRIERS ”

Under the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Statement of June 3, 1947, the States were left free to decide their future through negotiations with the Indian Union. To facilitate settlement with the States, the Government of India decided to constitute a separate States Department.

On the 5th July, 1947, when this States Department was set up, Sardar Patel, Minister for the newly created Department issued this statement of policy governing the States.

New Delhi,

July 5, 1947.

It was announced some days back that the Government of India had decided to set up a Department to conduct their relations with the States in matters of common concern. This Department has come into being today and the States have been informed to this effect. On this important occasion I have a few words to say to the Rulers of Indian States among whom I am happy to count many as my personal friends.

It is the lesson of history that it was owing to her politically fragmented condition and our inability to make a united stand that India succumbed to successive waves of invaders. Our mutual conflicts, and internecine quarrels and jealousies have in the past been the cause of our downfall and our falling victims to foreign domination a number of times. We cannot afford to fall into those errors or traps again. We are on the threshold of independence. It is true that we have not been able to preserve the unity of the country entirely unimpaired in the final stage. To the bitter disappointment and sorrow of many of us some parts have chosen to go out of India and to set up their own Government. But there can be no question that despite this separation, a fundamental homogeneity of culture and sentiment reinforced by the compulsive logic of mutual interests would continue to govern us. Much more would this be the case with that vast majority of States which, owing to their geographical contiguity and indissoluble ties, economic, cultural and political, must continue to maintain relations of mutual friendship and co-operation with the rest of India. The safety and preservation of these States

as well as of India demand unity and mutual co-operation between its different parts.

When the British established their rule in India they evolved the doctrine of Paramountcy which established the supremacy of British interests. That doctrine has remained undefined to this day, but in its exercise there has undoubtedly been more subordination than co-operation. Outside the field of Paramountcy there has been a very wide scope in which relations between British India and the States have been regulated by enlightened mutual interests. Now that British rule is ending, the demand has been made that the States should regain their independence. In so far as Paramountcy embodied the submission of States to foreign will, I have every sympathy with this demand, but I do not think it can be their desire to utilise this freedom from domination in a manner which is injurious to the common interests of India or which militates against the ultimate Paramountcy of popular interests and welfare or which might result in the abandonment of that mutually useful relationship that has developed between British India and Indian States during the last century. This has been amply demonstrated by the fact that a great majority of Indian States have already come into the Constituent Assembly. To those who have not done so, I appeal that they should join now. The States have already accepted the basic principle that for Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more of them than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the country are involved. In other matters we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence.

This country with its institutions is the proud heritage of the people who inhabit it. It is an accident that some live in the States and some in British India, but all alike partake of its culture and character. We are all knit together by bonds of blood and feeling no less than of self-interest. None can segregate us into segments ; no impassable barriers can be set up between us. I suggest that it is therefore better for us to make laws sitting together as friends than to make treaties as aliens. I invite my friends the Rulers of States and their people, to the Councils of the Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour, inspired by common allegiance to our motherland for the common good of us all.

There appears a great deal of misunderstanding about the attitude of the Congress towards the States. I should like to make it clear that it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States. They are no enemies of the Princely Order, but, on the other hand, wish them and their people under this ægis all prosperity,

contentment and happiness. Nor would it be my policy to conduct the relations of the new Department with the States in any manner which savours of the domination of one over the other ; if there would be any domination, it would be that of our mutual interests and welfare. We have no ulterior motive or selfish interests to serve. Our common objective should be to understand each other's point of view and come to decisions acceptable to all and in the best interests of the country. With this object, I propose to explore the possibility of associating with the administration of the new Department, a Standing Committee representative of both the States and British India.

We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour we can raise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage. Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this Sacred Land to its proper place amongst the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity.

“ KNOTTY PROBLEMS ”

The task of “ disentanglement of the many knotty problems ” which the sudden collapse of authority in Junagadh had created, necessitated the Deputy Prime Minister’s visit to Junagadh in the second week of November, 1947. On his way to Junagadh, he spoke at Rajkot on November 12, to “ one of the biggest gatherings ” with the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot in the Chair ; at Junagadh, the next day, he replied in a public meeting to the address presented by Mr. Samaldas Gandhi on behalf of the people of Junagadh. One recurring theme running through these forthright speeches is that whether it was Junagadh or Kashmir or Hyderabad—it was the popular verdict which should be the deciding factor for, “ Paramountcy has been eliminated not by the effort of the Princes but by that of the people.”

These were the highlights of the speech which he delivered at Rajkot :

“ You must have followed the recent events in Kashmir where Pakistan had intervened in the crudest and worst form that any foreign Power could have done in the affairs of a neighbouring State. ”

“ The future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people. Despite the attempts of Pakistan to avoid this commitment in the case of Hyderabad and despite their attempts to avoid facing facts in Junagadh, the will of the people will have its way. If Hyderabad does not see the writing on the wall, it goes the way Junagadh has gone ”

“ The three States of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir are the only problems left out of a difficult legacy handed down to us by a departing Britain which quite naturally desired at the time of its departure not to displease either the Princes or the people, either Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs.”

Rajkot,

November 12, 1947.

It is a great source of satisfaction to me and a real pleasure that the Thakore Saheb was good enough to write to me only this morning that he issued instructions to his Dewan to implement the agreement, which had been reached between me and the late Ruler on December 26, 1938, in circumstances, the speed and drama of which had baffled even the then Resident, Mr. Gibson. By this action the Thakore Saheb has demonstrated a high sense of public duty and has kept up the pledge given by his brother.

While I fully appreciate the significance of this historic event, historic not only for the people of Rajkot but also in a much wider context, I must tell you that the real purpose of my visit to Kathiawar is the disentanglement of the many knotty problems which the sudden collapse of authority in Junagadh has created not only for the people of Junagadh but the whole of Kathiawar.

You know how the Nawab of Junagadh had left the State without a shot being fired. The trouble had been brought upon the Nawab's head by the wrong advice which he received from the people who were bent upon mischief and by machinations of the Pakistan Government itself.

Pakistan had no business to meddle with Junagadh. When we accepted partition, we did so in the hope of a final settlement of a brotherly dispute. We felt that by satisfying the obstinate demand of a brother who had been a part of the joint family we would bring peace to both of us and prosperity to all. But hardly had partition been effected when the Punjab disturbances engulfed us. Nevertheless, we took particular care to avoid creating any obstacles in the way of Pakistan's relationship with the State with whom such relationship was quite natural. We did not attempt to seduce any of their States into our fold. But it was they who throughout made it a business to create difficulties and obstacles for us as much and as often as possible.

Rampur, which was the first to declare its accession to the Indian Dominion, witnessed the first fruits of Pakistan's malevolence. We met this challenge resolutely and resistance collapsed. Then they sought a foothold in Junagadh. We warned them, we begged of them, we reasoned with them, but obstinacy was not conquered. We could not be blind to the consequences which this interference with our affairs entailed, and with the affairs of the States which had acceded to us long before they took the final plunge into Junagadh. It was with this idea of safeguarding the rights of the acceding States and the peace of Kathiawar that we had to take precautionary measures and send troops to Manavdar, Mangrol and Babariawad.

Even then we had no intention of marching our troops into Junagadh territory but then the 'Provisional Government' led by Mr. Samaldas Gandhi took a hand. They took village after village and reached Kuntiana. It was then that the advisers of the Nawab, who had already fled, realized that the game was up. They left, leaving the people, who had financed them, in utter predicament.

The Dewan's decision to hand over the administration to the Indian Dominion was reached after Major Harvey Jones had been denied assistance by the Pakistan Government and after the Council

and the people had been taken into consultation. It was no hasty decision but a calculated move to accept the inevitable. The Dewan informed the Pakistan Government of what he was doing. We waited for 24 hours to see how Pakistan would react. But there was no response whatsoever. We then decided to march in order not only to preserve the peace in Junagadh but also to forestall its adverse repercussion in the whole of Kathiawar.

I emphatically repudiated Pakistan's contention that the Dewan had no authority to take the action that he did. He had the assent of the Nawab of Junagadh and the backing of the people. What other authority under any conception of sovereignty did the Dewan need in support of his action?

It was, however, Pakistan's practice to use all sorts of devices in order to call in question anything that the Indian Dominion did. They would cry or use threats; sometimes they would blow hot and sometimes cold.

The Dewan in a more congenial atmosphere in Karachi suddenly realized that he had not handed over the administration completely to the Indian Dominion. But his letter is crystal clear and he cannot expect us to hand over the State on a plate, after all the misdeeds of himself and his other officers and their desertion of the people. We have said more than once that the final arbiters on this issue are the people and it is by their verdict that we shall be guided. I can assure everybody that the verdict would be a real verdict ascertained in a truly democratic manner. We cannot imitate the methods which Pakistan utilized in forcing decision in Kashmir.

On the general question of responsible Government in the States, I must say that as one who has done more than anyone else to preserve the true rights of the Princes, I feel the Princes can survive only as trustees of the people.

Let them not heed any false or fraudulent advice which interested persons engaged in the pursuit of selfish ends might offer them. Instead, let them carry the people with them; Princes and people belong to one family and their best and mutual interest lies in remaining as a family rather than behaving as foes. But at the same time it is the duty of the people to prove themselves worthy of the great responsibility which a democratic regime entails.

Remember how Cochin had seen recently the farthest advance yet made on the road to responsible Government but how despite the full co-operation of the Ruler, the responsible Government in the State came to grief.

I have a special word of advice to say to Hindus and Muslims of Kathiawar. I recall how in the past Muslims of Kathiawar

contributed to the League Propaganda of "Two-Nation Theory" and how they took part in League politics. But I have forgotten the past which is dead and gone if only they will treat it as such. But if they still feel an attachment to the "Two-Nation Theory" and look to an outside power, they have no place in Kathiawar.

It was to put an end to this dual loyalty that we agreed to create Pakistan so that those who preferred to abide in that faith can find a place where they can pursue it. In India, there is no place for such persons. If they stay in India, it can only be as loyal citizens ; otherwise they have to be treated as foreigners with all the attendant disabilities. They should live in India like brothers and in harmony with non-muslims.

I call upon Hindus to follow Mahatma Gandhi in his creed of non-violence. Recent disturbances have disgraced India in the eyes of the world and it is for us to win back our lost reputation by correct behaviour and noble conduct. At the same time I deplore the tendency to get panicky. If we have to die we must die like brave men. As human beings with a sense of human dignity, we cannot die crying.

I want Hindus and Muslims to forget the past and to live happily together. To make it possible, let Muslims in India search their conscience and ascertain if they are really loyal to this country. If they are not, let them go to the country which claims their allegiance.

Finally, I feel I should make it clear to you all that there is no question of India being unable to face up to the threats which have been held out. Pakistan's actions are probably prompted by the feeling that India is in trouble and therefore fomentation of trouble in the States would make matters worse.

I assure you that we are not going to let the grass grow under our feet. Even if all these troubles come at the same time, we have got resources which would enable us to stand up to all of them at the same time. If they are anxious to challenge us, we would be ready to accept it. Let no State have evil designs on us or dream of extending its hegemony. Let them not entertain the fond hope of any Jatistan or Rajasthan or Sikhistan. If they persist, all these dreamers will soon be disillusioned. Instead, let them realise which way their true interest lies. I bear Pakistan no ill-will ; I wish them god-speed ; let them only leave us to pursue our own salvation and stop meddling with our affairs even in places like far-off Tripura. We shall then each settle down to our respective destiny. May be after we have become prosperous they themselves will awaken to the need for reunion in the best interest of both. It is neither our business nor our intention to force a reunion. We only wish to be left alone so that both can live in peace and prosperity, happiness and harmony.

“ NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE ”

*Junagadh,
November 13, 1947.*

THE main purpose of my visit to Junagadh is to settle the many problems which the complete abdication of the authority which ruled has suddenly raised.

I congratulate you, the people of Junagadh, on the victory achieved by you without bloodshed. I also congratulate Brigadier Gurdayal Singh and his men of the Kathiawar Defence Forces who have behaved with exemplary discipline and steadfastness and efficiency. The task of the army is not only to fight but also to prevent fighting. This force has achieved that in an ample measure.

I also congratulate the members of the Junagadh Administration who had realized, before it was too late, which way the right course lay and in which direction the path of rectitude pointed. However, those who wrongly advised the Nawab of Junagadh to accede to Pakistan were not true to the salt which they had eaten. For listening to this ill-intentioned and ill-omened advice, the Nawab has paid dearly.

The action of the Nawab of Junagadh will be a lesson to those who persist in their chimera of attachment to an authority with which they have no natural ties.

Negotiations had been conducted by responsible men of the Junagadh State for accession of the State to the Indian Union. The Ruler professed attachment to the majority of the subjects and the Princes of Kathiawar with whom he had the most friendly relations. But shortly after, moves were initiated in the reverse direction and the Nawab's eyes were turned to Pakistan. He has gone whither he cast his longing eyes. Let him remain there.

The State does not belong to any single individual. Paramountcy has been eliminated, certainly not by the efforts of the Princes, but by that of the people. It is, therefore, the people who have got the right to assert themselves and the Nawab cannot barter away the popular privilege of shaping its destiny.

Pakistan attempted to set-off Kashmir against Junagadh. When we raised the question of settlement of this problem in a democratic way, Pakistan at once told us they could consider this matter if we applied that policy to Kashmir State. Our reply was that we would agree to Kashmir if they agreed to Hyderabad. Pakistan, nowever, pointed out that they had no say in the matter. Nevertheless, whenever Hyderabad has been in difficulties, there

is always a trek of the leaders of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin to Mr. Jinnah.

It was only the other day that a solemn agreement confirmed by the Nizam and his Council was set at nought as a result of one of those periodical pilgrimages. Seldom has the history of the world seen a more farcical proceeding. The State, which boasted of a position of special importance, was reduced to submission by a crowd of Muslims who were determined to see that no agreement was concluded with the Indian Dominion. The Nizam has become a slave of his own Frankenstein.

The Ittehad-ul-Muslemin is trying to play the same game as the advisers of the Nawab of Junagadh had played in Junagadh. Hyderabad is, as it were, situated in India's belly. How can the belly breathe if it is cut-off from the main body? The Nizam's reported attempts to secure a seaboard, such as Goa or Masulipatam, will end only in failure : these are not the Nizam's patrimony. They are not like chattel to be transferred as a business transaction.

If Hyderabad is to be saved, it must effect a radical change in its methods and policy. In the world of today, only those who have guts can make their voice felt. If Hyderabad wishes to be heard, it must follow bravely and courageously the popular will. Otherwise, Hyderabad's fate will sooner or later be the same as those of other rulers and dynasties who had attempted to thwart the popular will only at the cost of their existence.

The problem of Hyderabad is the affair of India and India alone. India has no other wish except to remain at peace with Pakistan. After all, Pakistan is our neighbour and one does not pick quarrels with one's neighbour. We agreed to the creation of Pakistan in the spirit in which two brothers agreed to divide their joint property so that each would follow his independent existence in peace, security and prosperity. Pakistan felt that they would make of it a heaven on earth, but very soon hell was let loose. They perhaps realized that, faced with critical problems, India would not be able to deal with the inroads on her integrity and on her security.

The process of infiltration started with Rampur. There it was suppressed and eliminated. Junagadh was the next target. You have seen the result. In Kashmir they have followed even worse tactics. They have raised communal passions amongst tribesmen, equipped them and asked them to effect a *coup d'état*. The result has been great sorrow, plunder, rape, loot, massacre, destruction of life and property and atrocities on women. The erstwhile Happy Valley has tasted the bitter experience of liberation by Pakistan. But our troops have cleared most of the

Valley of the invaders and, God willing, they will completely eliminate them.

Meanwhile one hears rumblings in far-off Tripura. I should like to warn the authorities who are indulging in these manoeuvres that they should not be under any delusion that India's troubles have in any way undermined her strength. We have resources to meet a challenge from whatever quarter it might come.

I would urge upon you not to let the present opportunity of learning to defend yourselves slip. You have seen what a disciplined army can achieve. Learn from the army and emulate their example. You should never be taken in by panic. You should be fair to all. You must use your resources not only to defend yourselves but also to defend and protect the property and honour of your Muslim brethren who might agree to owe allegiance to India. As for those who harbour feelings of disloyalty or who feel they have an obligation to Pakistan, they must follow the path set for them by their Nawab who has already shown the way. Let them go to Pakistan if they feel that they have more in common with them than with India.

I emphatically repudiate the right of any outside authority like Pakistan to interfere with the popular will within our territory. The Indian Dominion forces have come to Junagadh not at the request merely of the Dewan, but also at the behest of the people of Junagadh whose will the Dewan himself had ascertained before inviting India to take over the administration. It was, therefore, at the express desire and will of the people of Junagadh that the Indian Army marched into Junagadh, and when they leave the State, they would make sure that it was a popular administration which was in Junagadh and not an imposed Government which held the sway.

No appeal to outside authority nor to force nor any appeal to any international court can succeed in dislodging the popular verdict. It is on this sanction that we justify the present move of the Indian Dominion and it is on this sanction that we can conclusively justify our action to the world at large.

“ RESULT OF HYDERABAD NEGOTIATIONS ”

On November 29, the Deputy Prime Minister made a statement to the Constituent Assembly about the latest position in the series of negotiations between the representatives of the Nizam and those of the Government of India. A Standstill Agreement was signed under which “ all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year ”. The settlement also made it clear that Hyderabad did not propose to accede to Pakistan.

New Delhi,

November 29, 1947.

WITH your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the Standstill Agreement, signed this morning, as well as a copy of the collateral letters exchanged between H.E.H. and H.E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which, due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the Rulers, resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representatives of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam also at the same time. I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached. At the same time, His Exalted Highness, the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him an extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, undertook to

continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the Delegations sent by His Exalted Highness and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted, but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old Delegation resigned and a new one was sent by His Exalted Highness, the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new Delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present Delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

Under this settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions, are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year. These agreements and arrangements cover a wide variety of matters including the three subjects on which accession of all States has been accepted, *viz.*, Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

I know that Hon'ble Members would have been much more gratified if as a result of these talks His Exalted Highness had found it possible for the State of Hyderabad permanently to accede to the Indian Dominion. Such an accession would have been in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad State. We, however, fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State, and consistent with our policy to secure agreement, not by coercion, but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, we felt that an agreement of this nature, even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever. The period of one year would enable both of us to forge closer relations and would, it is hoped, pave the way for a permanent accession.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for, placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise that Hon'ble Members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities, both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will

prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes.

I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a Ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure, the House would like me to place on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

“ SINK DIFFERENCES AND WORK HARD ”

On October 28, 1947, the Government of India received information from the Orissa Government that the situation in the neighbouring States in general was tense. In Nilgiri there was a general state of lawlessness—looting of property, riots and clashes between sections of people. The trouble soon spread into the neighbouring district of Balasore. The situation got beyond the control of the Ruler and the negotiations between the Ruler and the Praja Mandal failed to restore peace. Ultimately the Government of India had to request the Orissa Government to restore law and order and take over the administration of Nilgiri which the latter did on November 14, with the consent of the Ruler. These disturbances spread to other states and raised the whole question of internal security in the Eastern States Group and the neighbouring Provinces. To deal with the situation, the Deputy Prime Minister visited Cuttack and Nagpur in the middle of December and successfully concluded negotiations with the Rulers of Orissa and Chattisgarh States.

At Cuttack, on December 14, thousands of men, women and children waited for hours together in rain and cold to hear the Deputy Prime Minister. Addresses of welcome were presented to him including one from the Muslim citizens of Cuttack who made him a present of an exquisitely carved silver casket.

Cuttack,

December 14, 1947.

I MUST pay a tribute to the province of Orissa for she has escaped the communal trouble prevalent in some parts of the country. We have achieved Swaraj and we have yet to reap the fruits of Swaraj. Since my visit to the province many years ago many changes have taken place. India is now free and independent and yet India is not in a position to enjoy the fruits of freedom. My visit to the province is in connection with the trouble which has occurred in numerous small Eastern States. I am happy that at this critical hour you have a leader in your Premier, Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab....

Paramountcy is gone no doubt but it does not mean that no more authority is left. The Government of Orissa have full resources to deal with any situation. Apart from the Princes,

there are those who intimidate and threaten the Rulers. It is not the proper thing to do. I have met some Rulers today and have told them that they should not carry on as they did in the past. They must transfer power to the people.

I assure you that I have every sympathy with you, and I have extended my support to the movement for a United Orissa. You are poor today but with united will and hard work you can make the province rich. The Dominion Government have undertaken to do their utmost to bring to fruition the Mahanadi project which would not only benefit the present province but also the States adjoining it.

I confidently hope that in the next five years the whole face of the Union would be changed. To make the country prosperous you should all sink your differences and work hard. There is no more room for any agitation or mischief but only for hard work.

Violence must be given up. In unity there is strength and prosperity. Today the people in Orissa are agitated about the Rulers. But who are the Rulers? There could be Rulers only if the people recognised them as such. The Rulers must move with the times. They should cease to be frogs in the wells. These are the days of democracy. The Rulers must put their trust in the people.

There must be total elimination of violence, for the forces of law and order are there to deal with any anti-social elements. I deplore the recent events in Calcutta, those who indulged in them have done a grievous wrong. The Premier of Bengal is a popular Minister and those who engineered the agitation had other remedies. I am pained to hear that a strike is contemplated. There was a strike last year and the people of Calcutta knew its consequences. I would therefore appeal to them not to indulge in strikes and conflicts. Government will not tolerate any strife and we are determined to put an end to all quarrels. That is why the partition of the country was agreed to.

You must all work hard to make the country prosperous and wealthy. You must follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi by eradicating untouchability and fostering inter-communal unity.

“ INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION ”

On his return from a short visit to Orissa, C.P. and Berar, in December, 1947, Sardar Patel issued a statement on December 16 from New Delhi, explaining the background and the policy underlying the settlement reached with the Rulers of Orissa and Chattisgarh States.

*New Delhi,
December 16, 1947.*

THE public has already received through the press and over the radio a fairly clear and detailed picture of the settlement which I have reached, during the course of my visit to Orissa and C.P. and Berar, with the Rulers of Orissa and Chattisgarh States on the problem of integration of those States with their neighbouring provinces. I feel, however, that for a correct appreciation of this important event, it is necessary for me to explain the background and the policy underlying that settlement. Democratization of the administration which has long been the keynote of Congress policy towards the States, has become a pressing problem since August 15th. The Princes themselves have in many cases begun to realise the spirit of the times and have been gradually introducing measures in accord with that spirit. The progress has been in some States slow, in others it has been swift, but everywhere it has been sure.

It should be obvious to everyone, however, that even democracy and democratic institutions can function efficiently only where the unit to which these are applied can subsist in a fairly autonomous existence. Where, on account of smallness of its size, isolation of its situation, the inseparable link with a neighbouring autonomous territory, be it a Province or a bigger State, in practically all economic matters of everyday life, the inadequacy of resources to open up its economic potentialities, the backwardness of its people and the sheer incapacity to shoulder a self-contained administration, a State is unable to afford a modern system of government, both democratization and integration are clearly and unmistakably indicated.

In the world of today where distances are fast shrinking and masses are being gradually brought into touch with latest

administrative amenities, it is impossible to postpone for a day longer than necessary the introduction of measures which would make the people realise that their progress is also proceeding at least on the lines of their neighbouring areas. Delays inevitably lead to discontent, which in its turn results in lawlessness ; the use of force may for a time check the popular urge for reform but it can never succeed in eradicating it altogether. Indeed, in many of the States with which I had to hold discussions during the last two days, large-scale unrest had already gripped the people ; in others the rumblings of the storm were being heard. In such circumstances, after careful and anxious thought, I came to the conclusion that for smaller States of this type, placed in circumstances which I have described above, there was no alternative to integration and democratization.

At the same time I felt that their Rulers had acquired by heredity and history certain claims on the people which the latter must honour. Their dignities and privileges and their means of subsistence on a reasonable standard must be assured. I have always held to the belief that the future of the Princes lies in the service of their people and their country and not in the continued assertion of their autocracy. In conformity with these ideas, I felt that on release from an increasingly onerous and awkward responsibility, but at the same time with their personal position and that of the ruling family fully safeguarded, they would have opportunities of service which have hitherto been denied to them and which many of them are genuinely longing for and genuinely anxious to secure, and they would cease to be the targets of continuous bitter attacks and ill-will.

The settlement which we have reached at Cuttack and Nagpur is actuated by these motives, prompted by these considerations and governed by these principles. I have no doubt that it is in the best interests of the Rulers, the people and the country at large. I am particularly grateful to the Rulers of the States who showed a commendable appreciation of the realities of the situation and a benevolent regard for public good. To all of them, undoubtedly the decisions they have taken have involved considerable sacrifice of powers and fortune. They have accepted this sacrifice cheerfully and voluntarily in the interests of their people and the country at large. I am sure their people will react favourably to this generous response to public interests.

Throughout my discussions with the Rulers I was careful to emphasise that the solution which we suggested for the difficult problems with which we and they were equally faced was for them to accept or reject of their own free will. There was no compulsion save that of events and of the circumstances and peculiar problems of their States. I also told them that in offering this solution we were actuated by nothing but the friendliest disposition

towards them and had nothing but the ultimate good of the Princes and their people at heart. I also maintained that their voluntary surrender of most of the powers that they wielded so far would increase and not reduce the prestige that they have enjoyed and would create in the hearts of their people a place of lasting affection and regard which would redound to their glory. I am very glad that they all responded to these sentiments and would ask the people of these States to play their own part and to extend to each one of them unfailing cordiality and unstinted goodwill.

In future, if the people of these States have any grievances, they can only be against the popular representatives and leaders who would be charged with their interests and welfare, and not against the Princes. These Princes have by their act of abnegation purchased in perpetuity their right to claim the devotion of their people. I am sure that very soon the Provincial Governments who would be acting for the Dominion Government in discharging administrative functions in these States, will turn their thoughts and energies to ameliorating the conditions of the people and to devising ways and means of associating representatives of States with the fashioning of administrative measures. Let them all realise the stakes involved—some 56,000 square miles of territory with a population of about 8 million, a gross revenue of about 2 crores and immense potentialities for the future. It is the undisputable right of the people in these territories to modern amenities of Government which should be the governing consideration in everything that we do for them. It will also be the duty of the people concerned to help and co-operate wholeheartedly with the respective Provincial administrations in this process of unification and amelioration, so that they may derive the full benefit of this great achievement.

“ MANTLE FALLS ON YOUNG SHOULDERS ”

On December 17, the Deputy Prime Minister was presented with an address on behalf of the people of Jaipur in a public meeting. In this speech Sardar Patel covered a wide variety of subjects, all of them burning topics of the day.

Jaipur,

December 17, 1947.

THERE are about 500 small States—more than the total number of independent States in the world. The former alien rulers of India preserved them like pickles, but now Paramountcy has gone, foreign rule has gone and India has become free. But we have not yet breathed the real air of freedom. So many people do not know that we have got Swaraj, though they know that foreign rule is gone. People do not yet have any taste of it. They do not know whether we have gained anything from it. We must make them realise the difference between foreign rule and Swaraj.

It is true we have not yet had time. During the short time due to our misfortune we have had communal troubles. The poison of hatred generated by the League gripped us. We accepted even partition of India in the hope that it would restore peaceful conditions. That was not to be. If we had not been hit by this cataclysm we would have been much better off. Fortunately Jaipur has escaped and I congratulate its people and Government on it. The model which you have placed before the world is one which your people can be proud of, but what about the future? We will not stand still, we have to march forward. I am confident that it will not be necessary for me or you to ask for responsible government from the Jaipur Maharaja. Whatever you want you are sure to get. The Maharaja of Jaipur and his advisors have worked together with us in unifying India. I know they are with us and have shared with us in the achievement of freedom.

In every State people demand responsible government. The Rulers are aware of this and know that they have to march with the times. At the same time we should be clear about our own duty. It is our right to take over Government from them, but if we cannot

improve upon it and provide better administration, what is the advantage?

The Congress has not demanded power for the sake of power but for the sake of service. If you have narrow ideas like Sikhistan, Jatistan and Rajastan, I should like to say, the world today is different. We cannot think of any such narrow ideology. Government must be that of the people—rich, poor, Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian.

We have to conduct governmental affairs in a manner that each one feels it is his own government. Times are such that government is of those who exert and not of those who sit idle. You should be certain how and for what purpose you use power. We have to utilize power for the welfare of the downtrodden.

I find in the State there are the Praja Mandal and Congress, Hindu Sabha, R.S.S., Rajput Sabha, Jat Sabha and so on. This will not do. You have yet to get together and work together.

You have expressed the hope that Hyderabad should also join the Indian Union within one year. I have no doubt that it will. It will realize that its interests demand it. The people demand self-government in Hyderabad. They have a right to do so. How can Hyderabad remain isolated? It will come of its own accord.

Muslims demand parity when Hindus are 85 per cent and Muslims 15 per cent. Responsible men should not talk like this. Some say they have connections with Pakistan. If that is so they will have to bear the consequences.

Kashmir is a different problem. The Pakistan Government is saying that the tribesmen have become infuriated and are attacking, looting, etc. But everyone knows it is not the work merely of raiders. There can be no doubt that there are some regular troops armed with automatic weapons. It is our duty to stand by Kashmir and we will discharge that duty. India will not desert Kashmir even if the struggle went on for ten years. But ultimately it will be for the people of Kashmir to decide their own fate, and this can be possible only when the last raider has left the State.

There is, therefore, no cause for worry, but the people of Jaipur can assist the Government of India by spreading the message that there should be no trouble elsewhere.

I have received complaints against the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. If so many complaints are received the Sangh should realize that there must be something wrong. I appreciate the enthusiasm of young men, but that should be diverted into constructive channels.

There is a great deal to be done to make India militarily strong. Very substantial industrial effort must back the Army. All that cannot be achieved by the lathis of the Sangh which are being used for breaking the heads of a handful of Muslims. There is no point in your hoping to get Pakistan back into the Indian Union. It will come of its own accord and we should, therefore, let the Pakistanis remain as they are. I am certain that whether they grow strong or weak, ultimately it would be better for us to get them back when they themselves feel like doing so.

A strong army requires strong support in the matter of supply and food. The people have, therefore, to husband their resources and for that purpose they must forget their quarrels. We old men have completed our mission.

India has secured her freedom. The mantle will now fall on young shoulders and they should be ready to undertake it. They cannot do this if they waste their efforts over trifles.

If they follow the path which the Sangh has been following they would be doing a disservice to the country.

Everyone realizes that in order to subsist as a great nation India must produce more, but instead of that, agitators are compelling workers to strike, the latest instance being in Calcutta where the popular Government wants special powers but obstruction is placed in its way. Firing had to be resorted to, but the reply is a threat of a general strike to compel the withdrawal of the Bill.

There is no question now of foreigners being given special powers. It is a representative Government which can be changed if people wanted it to be changed. Let those who feel the urge to advise a general strike ponder over the reception which was accorded to our leader, Pandit Nehru, when he went to Calcutta. He was greeted by a million men.

It is only agitators who clamour for strikes. India is not going to benefit by these tactics. We cannot afford to waste a single hour. It is essential for our existence that we should produce. If we still do not realize it, we are doomed.

Land has been concentrated in a minority of people in the States like Jaipur. I appeal to landholders not to live on the earnings of those who shed their sweat and blood to make the soil productive. It does not behove Rajputs whose duty it is to protect others to live at the expense of others. Let them make sacrifices so that others may live.

It was by disunity that India lost its freedom. Hundreds of years ago, despite the feats of valour and heroism performed by men and women in Rajputana, India became a slave to foreigners. The people should not repeat those mistakes now.

In the address, I have also been asked to say something about Junagadh, but there is hardly anything to be said. The people of Junagadh will deal with the problem. The problem of the States now consists of Hyderabad and Kashmir. I have every hope that Hyderabad will do the right thing before the year is out. In this world the popular will can be ignored only at one's peril.

When such a Big Power had to quit India under the pressure of popular opinion, how can the Nizam hope to do otherwise? However, the new Government which has just assumed office should be given a chance. Some people fear that in the interim period Hyderabad will be prepared for a struggle. Even if that is true it is foolish to imagine that we would sit idle while these preparations are being made.

I appeal to you to follow implicitly the constructive programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi.

“ A BIRD’S-EYE VIEW ”

To an inquisitive, interrogative band of journalists—Indian and Foreign—Sardar Patel summed up in a press conference on January 29, the work of the States Ministry in the last six months and gave them a bird's-eye view of the current tendencies as well as of the immediate future.

New Delhi,

January 29, 1948.

As you are all aware, on the lapse of Paramountcy, every Indian State became a separate independent entity and our first task of consolidating about 550 Indian States was on the basis of accession to the Indian Dominion on three subjects. Barring Hyderabad and Junagadh, all the States which are contiguous to India acceded to the Indian Dominion. Subsequently, Kashmir also came in.

With the birth of independence in India, the urge for enjoyment of similar freedom naturally inspired the people of the States, where the process of democratization of administration had not made anything like the same progress as was made in the adjoining provinces. The result was agitation on the part of the people and occasional clashes between the Rulers and the ruled. Some Rulers, who were quick to read the writing on the wall, gave responsible government to their people, Cochin being the most illustrious example. In Travancore, there was a short struggle, but there, too, the Ruler soon recognised the aspirations of his people and agreed to introduce a Constitution in which all power would be transferred to the people and he would function as a constitutional Ruler. Similarly, in Mysore, there was a struggle for a short time in which the popular will triumphed eventually, and we know that there has been a complete transfer of power from the Ruler to the people.

While these big States were temporarily able to deal with popular movements, the smaller States were not able even to maintain law and order with their limited resources and with the people in opposition to the administration. This was particularly evident in the Eastern States, in one of which States, namely, Nilgiri, the situation had so deteriorated as to result in



*The Deputy Prime Minister at a Press Conference
reviewing constitutional progress of the Indian
States.*

the Ruler leaving the State. In another State in the same area the Ruler could not return to the capital and had to approach the Ministry of States to advise the local Praja Mandal to keep quiet as the Ministry was about to take up the question of consolidation of States. These States had formed a superficial Union which could not last as it was not based on linguistic, cultural and economic affinities. The law and order situation in some of the States was so bad as to cause apprehension to the adjoining administrations of Orissa and the Central Provinces. You know the sequence of events thereafter. I went there in the middle of December, met the Orissa Rulers at Cuttack and the Chhattisgarh Rulers at Nagpur, and it was decided that the best interests of the people as also of the Rulers lay in administrative integration of the States with the adjoining provinces. As early as 1930 the Simon Commission recommended the integration of these States with the adjoining provinces but nothing came out of the proposal. The act of sacrifice on the part of these Rulers which this decision involved has been universally acclaimed throughout the country. The transfer of administration from the Rulers to the provinces was smooth and peaceful and has been warmly welcomed by the people of the States except in one or two places where ugly incidents occurred. But I shall not refer to them as they were not of any consequence and do not affect the main theme, namely, that the merger of the States was carried out willingly and has caused satisfaction all around.

The merger of Eastern States electrified the whole atmosphere. The people of the States found that here was a remedy for their difficulties arising out of their limited resources and narrow outlook. The 8 Deccan States which formed the United Deccan State by merging their sovereignties in the new State, a step which was then considered to be revolutionary, felt that even in the new State their life would be cramped and that they would not have the same amenities and benefits as the people of the adjoining province of Bombay would have with all the resources of Bombay. The people who had assembled to frame a democratic constitution for their new State changed their minds and asked for the merger of their States in Bombay. The Rulers who have always been known for their progressive outlook, appreciated the weight and soundness of this view and agreed to abide by the decision of the people. The Constituent Assembly of the new State met only three days ago, *i.e.*, on the 26th of January, and has passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority in favour of merger with a province. The merger will thus be given effect to within a few days. There are some other States in Deccan which had not joined the Union, but in these States also the movement for merger had become so strong that the Rulers could not maintain law and

order and have had to approach the Central Government to take over charge of law and order pending the merger of the States in the province of Bombay. These States are Akalkot and Jath. The Ruler of Jamkhandi was one of the earliest to read the signs of the times and had approached this Ministry more than two months ago for unqualified merger of the State in Bombay. There was thus no trouble in his State and the people had welcomed the decision and the action of the Ruler. Thus all States in the Deccan except Kolhapur will shortly take their place in the province of Bombay to the mutual advantage of both, and to the particular advantage of the people of these States.

Next came the problem of Kathiawar.

Kathiawar is a veritable jigsaw puzzle of different jurisdictions. The States in Kathiawar comprise 13 Salute States, 107 limited jurisdictional States and 329 non-jurisdictional estates and talukas making up 449 units altogether. The area involved is more than 22,000 square miles with a population of between $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 millions. The administration of the States is complicated by the fact that many of them have scattered islands of territory all over the place. The Salute States of Nawanagar, Gondal and Junagadh, for instance, have respectively 9, 18 and 24 separate areas of territory. Added together, these 449 units divide the map of Kathiawar into about 860 different areas.

Because the jurisdiction changes every few miles, communications are in a primitive condition. Internal trade is rendered difficult by the export and import duties and the octrois which the various units levy, and this encourages extensive smuggling and black market operations. The administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order under these circumstances are greatly handicapped. The economic development of the region which has great potentialities is hampered by its political fragmentation.

This state of affairs is good neither to the State nor to its people. The late Political Department tried in its own way to solve the problem, but their measures were necessarily half-hearted and did not serve the purpose of unification. Their solution was that some of these smaller units should be attached to the bigger States. This scheme was tried out, but at best it was never a good working arrangement. In any case, the lapse of Paramountcy brought this to an end.

Since I took charge of the States Department, the unification of Kathiawar has been one of the major tasks to which I have devoted myself. In the altered circumstances the Rulers of the Kathiawar States have fully recognised the difficulties in continuing the present system, and I am glad to announce that it has now

been possible to work out a scheme and get the agreement of the States to it by which the whole of the Kathiawar region will be integrated into a new State of Kathiawar as a single bloc of territory. There will be no separate State or thāna boundary, and the whole area will be served by one Government. I have called you here to explain this, but in the first place I must pay my tribute to the Rulers for their patriotic co-operation which made this task so easy of achievement.

A copy of the Covenant has already been given to all of you.

I shall now describe briefly the main features of the new set-up.

The new State of Kathiawar is known as the United States of Kathiawar. There is a Presidium of Rulers consisting of five members, each of whom shall be the Ruler of a Covenanting State. The Rulers of Nawanagar and Bhavnagar, the two most important States in the region, are members of the Presidium in their own right. One member is elected from amongst themselves by the Rulers of the Covenanting non-Salute States. The other two members are elected by the members of the Council of Rulers consisting of the Rulers of the Salute States other than Nawanagar and Bhavnagar.

The Council of Rulers elect one member of the Presidium to be the President or the Rajpramukh and another to be the Vice-President of the Presidium. The first elections have already taken place, and H.H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, who played a notable part in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion, has been elected as the Rajpramukh with H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar as the Vice-President. The term of office of the Rajpramukh and the Vice-President is five years.

There will be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Rajpramukh.

We have provided for the formation of an Interim Ministry as follows.

There is already an electoral college for Kathiawar which elects representatives to the Constituent Assembly of India. Our plan is that the same electoral college should meet not later than the 20th February and choose the leader of the Interim Ministry. It will be his task to constitute this Ministry.

The Covenant also makes provision for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for the State of Kathiawar.

We have in the Covenant only provided for the basic principles regarding the Kathiawar Constituent Assembly. The details will be worked out by the new Government of the United States of Kathiawar. It is our intention that when this Constituent Assembly

has been set up the Ministry should be reconstituted so as to reflect the majority opinion in the Constituent Assembly. Thereafter it will be for the Constituent Assembly to frame a permanent Constitution for the new State within the framework of this Covenant and of the Constitution of India.

The Privy Purse of the Rulers has been fixed, and the amount shown against each is contained in Schedule I to the Covenant.

This Covenant, as you will have noticed, applies only to the Salute States and non-Salute States. There are in addition a number of talukas and thanas which are administered by the Government of India through its Regional Commissioner in Kathiawar. We have prepared a separate instrument for their signature which we hope to complete by the end of January.

The movement for merger by which I mean either merger with the provinces to suit geographical situations or amongst themselves, is progressing rapidly. Such a move has now the support of both the Rulers and the ruled. It is no longer a demand of the people only. You must have observed that recently the Rulers of Bundelkhand met at Nowgong and adopted a resolution for the creation of a United States of Bundelkhand in which all the Bundelkhand States and Rewa are likely to participate. It would be a State fairly large in area, but very substantial in mineral, forest and natural resources. Mr. Menon is hoping to go there on or about February 8, 1948, to have further discussions with the Rulers and the people and to help them in bringing about a State based on complete transfer of power and somewhat on the model of the State of Kathiawar.

Another region where too the Rulers and the people are thinking on similar lines is Central India or Malwa. I have just received information that the Rulers of this region are forming a unitary State on the lines of the State of Kathiawar based again on full responsible government, that is, Executive being fully responsible to the Legislature and Legislature being fully representative of the people of the area. There is a similar move for Rajputana where all the smaller States and some of the bigger ones are hoping to join to form a State of Rajasthan which will help to preserve traditions, culture and peculiarities of life of the Rajputs. I welcome all these moves as they solve the problems of consolidation as well as responsible government at one stroke, and it is particularly gratifying to note that these moves are not impositions from above but joint and willing proposals of the Rulers and the ruled. Both the people and the Rulers have realised that grant of full responsible government is inevitable and that responsible government in a small State is just a farce. It is not possible to have a

decent and modern administration except in a unit of fair size and this is what is now being attempted, I am sure, with considerable success in the country.

There will still be a number of large States unaffected by the movement for merger or Union. In these States there is a definite movement for full responsible government. As I observed before, Cochin led the way and Travancore soon followed suit, and the Interim Government introduced in Mysore has become a model for many States to follow, such as Kashmir and Gwalior. I have reason to believe that the leading Rulers of Rajputana are thinking on the same lines and will not lag behind the other Princes in trusting their people and giving them full responsible government thus enabling them to shoulder responsibilities for their own government. I expect similar constitutional changes to be introduced very shortly in Bikaner and Jaipur. It is obvious that if any State lags behind it will only do so to its own disadvantage and to the disadvantage of its people. I have no doubt that this process of consolidation and democratization will be completed very shortly and certainly well before the new Constitution which is being framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly comes into effect and thus there will be no discrimination between the people of the provinces and the people of States in the matter of degree of freedom enjoyed by them. All the units will thus march side by side and with equal freedom and not some as free men and some as serfs. Nobody could have visualised this transformation in the country six months ago. Mr. Menon will tell you that a very senior officer of the Political Department told him just before the transfer of power that he was wasting his time over accession and standstill agreement and that not one State will accept the accession as proposed by the newly formed Ministry of States. Those officers are still alive and must be wondering how the changes that have occurred since they left have really been brought about. While I give plenty of credit to the people for this bloodless revolution in nearly one-third of the country, I have nothing but praise for the manner in which the Rulers have co-operated with us and with the people in bringing about this development. None is more conscious than myself that all this could not have been achieved but for their willing co-operation and their intense patriotism which was latent but which has just blossomed forth in all its fullness with the acquisition of independence by the country.

One State remains which is still causing us some anxiety. It is the State of Hyderabad. Its geographical situation, the composition of its people and its cultural and traditional ties with India are such that it cannot but be an integral part of India tied to it by the same bonds which characterise the relationship today

between India and the acceding States. Accession in the case of Hyderabad is inevitable and will I hope come before long. Similarly democratization which will characterise the whole country cannot be delayed or withheld in Hyderabad. The people there must get their due and I would only appeal to His Exalted Highness the Nizam to appreciate this situation and to do the right thing in time.

The time at my disposal is short and the problem is vast but I have tried to give you a bird's-eye view of the current tendencies as well as of the picture which the country is likely to take when this process of consolidation and democratization is completed as it should be in the next few months.



*Sardar Patel administering the oath of office to the
Jam Saheb of Nawanager, Rajpramukh of Saurashtra.*

“ DREAM COME TRUE ”

Accompanied by the Defence Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, reached Jamnagar on February 15, 1948, to inaugurate the new Saurashtra State.

The Jam Saheb, the Rajpramukh of the United States of Kathiawar, was sworn in by the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, at a special Darbar attended by many Rulers and other distinguished leaders of Kathiawar. After the swearing-in of the presidium of the new State, Sardar Patel addressed the gathering.

At the end of the Darbar, the Deputy Prime Minister addressed from the balcony of the Darbargarh Palace a large gathering outside.

The next day also the Deputy Prime Minister spoke in reply to an address presented by the Jamnagar Chamber of Commerce.

Important extracts from these speeches are given below.

*Jamnagar,
February 15, 1948.*

TRIBUTES must be paid to the Jam Saheb and other Rulers of Kathiawar as well as to the popular leaders, but for whose vision, wisdom and patriotism the happy result you are seeing today would not have fructified. It was Mahatma Gandhi's dream that Kathiawar should be unified and it gladdens my heart that the dream of such unification has come true.

The occasion which finds us here today is unique, and what we are witnessing is something quite new to India's history. Both the Princes and the people have played their part in bringing about the United States of Kathiawar.

Despite gloomy prognostications of what would happen after August 15 in so far as the States are concerned it is a matter for gratification that matters have shaped so well. With the lapse of Paramountcy, some sort of a vacuum has been created and the people have been greatly concerned about their future. The amputation of a limb is a painful process but it is dreadful to imagine as to what would happen if the living organism itself was hacked to bits. Thanks to Providence, India today is alive and alert and has survived partition

I hope the Ministers of the new State will do their best to exploit the natural resources of Kathiawar and to raise the standard of living of the people. You will, I am sure, make an endeavour to remove the customs cordon at Viramgam at the earliest possible moment after reaching a satisfactory agreement on the question. It is gratifying that the invoice system at present existing in Bhavnagar which used to cause considerable difficulty to trade has now been abolished.

I would also urge upon the new Government to eradicate untouchability from the social life of the people. Untouchability has been a curse against which Mahatma Gandhi battled throughout his life and Kathiawar should make a determined effort to remove that curse and thus pay an appropriate tribute to his memory. If the path chalked out by him was pursued by the Princes and their subjects in Kathiawar, they would not only be setting a noble example for the rest of the country, but would also be leaving a precious legacy for the coming generations.

“ A MAHAGUJERAT ”

Jamnagar,

February 15, 1948.

CERTAIN portions of Baroda territory which are at present in Kathiawar have to be integrated into the territory of the United States of Kathiawar. The Kathiawar Rulers and their ministers will shortly negotiate with the Baroda Darbar in this regard. The tiny territory of Diu, now under Portuguese sovereignty will also have to be acquired through negotiations.

One dream has been realised, namely the United States of Kathiawar. The next objective should be to attract the neighbouring States, including Cutch, and pave the way for the ultimate realization of a greater dream—a Mahagujerat—which you can achieve by being strong and self-reliant. You must remember that the freedom which you have won also entails responsibilities.

Mahatma Gandhi had been intensely interested in the unification of Kathiawar. As soon as he learnt of the agreement on the Covenant, he was anxious to meet the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. Mahatmajī did not seek merely the political unification of Kathiawar but its unity in every sense of the word. I ask the people to follow in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi in every walk of life, and in particular to remove untouchability, bring about complete prohibition and foster inter-communal unity. That would be a real tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's love for Kathiawar.

“ FOLLOW THE GANDHIAN TRADITION ”

*Jamnagar,
February 16, 1948.*

THE people must maintain and preserve the dignity of the institution of Rulers and not ridicule them. The princes in Kathiawar have now surrendered their powers to their subjects and have become constitutional Rulers. The people must conduct themselves in such a manner as to deserve the new freedom. There should be mutual understanding and toleration and a recognition of the common interests of the Ruler and the ruled.

With the birth of Samyukta Kathiawar you should strive to initiate the tradition which Mahatma Gandhi preached all through his life. He was from Kathiawar and the people of Kathiawar have now an opportunity to build up a new Saurashtra.

Gandhiji preached and practised the philosophy of love and mutual tolerance. My long association with Gandhiji has taught me something of that lesson. It was my regard and esteem for the Rajpramukh Jam Saheb that won me over. And it was the same principle which won other Rulers as well. They have now surrendered their powers and great responsibility now rests on the people. By asking them to respect the institution of Rulers, I am not asking them to flatter the Rulers or cringe before them.

Many years ago I tried to win responsible Government for Rajkot. I had sought Gandhiji's blessing, but Gandhiji told me that the struggle would not be successful as long as the British remained in the country. Gandhiji knew that once the British left India, the traditions of mutual regard between the Princes and the people would be renewed, and the intimate and cordial relations which existed in ancient times between the Princes and the Panchayats of the people would be renewed, and the intimate and cordial relations which existed in ancient times between the Princes and the Panchayats of the people would again revive. I appeal to the leaders of Saurashtra to so discharge their responsibilities as to be a shining example to the world.

“ MARCH WITH THE TIMES ”

Towards the end of February, 1948, the Deputy Prime Minister paid a visit to Alwar, his first visit to the State, which came into the news all of a sudden on February 8. Alwar had become an important stronghold of the R.S.S. The suspicion that this organization with the support or connivance of the State administration was involved in the assassination of Gandhiji made it necessary to ask the Ruler of Alwar to stay out of the State temporarily while proper investigation was made.

Sardar Patel's speech at Alwar at a public meeting on February 25, was a remarkable pronouncement, justifying the action taken and giving some homely advice to Princes and people of Rajasthan.

Alwar,

February 25, 1948.

SMALL States cannot subsist as independent entities any longer without endangering Indian unity. We are trying to achieve national unity. Many Rulers have realised their duty by merging themselves in bigger entities. Can Rajasthan afford to lie low? It has to march with the times.

It is your privilege and duty to bear the sword. It is equally your responsibility to ensure that the sword is not used to harass the weak, but to protect them. You should use it in a manner that the world will say you are inheritors of an ancient civilization and are true to the real traditions of the chivalry of Rajasthan.

You have to remember that you are born in a country which has produced a great saint like Gandhiji whose lifelong mission it was to plead for and espouse the cause of the weak, the downtrodden and the outcast.

You are aware of the circumstances which compelled the Government of India to take over the administration of Alwar. Events had occurred which brought the State a bad name. The Maharaja may or may not be at fault, but the fact remains that his name has become involved and has to be cleared.

The moment his name is cleared there will be no objection to his return to Alwar.

People and Rulers alike must realize that the old traditions of rule cannot be carried on. The times are changing, new ideologies and new traditions now hold the field. Our power is not going to relax merely because there is a section of the people who still dream of the power of their sword and still think of carving out a kingdom for themselves

It is to Gandhiji that we all owe our freedom. For the unspeakable tragedy of his murder we all have to bear the responsibility. Alwar also shares the blame. Why were the people of Alwar sleeping when a person in the garb of a *sadhu* was distributing leaflets which asked for Gandhiji's death in a most brutal and criminal fashion ?

I wonder whether people appreciate that they would not be able to safeguard the freedom they have won if the signs that are already visible persist in their fateful course. Freedom was not won by the sword and will not be protected by guns alone. Guns can protect freedom from aggressive designs of neighbours or other foreign States. But internally, it is the honest core of the people and the true realization of the responsibilities of a free citizen, that alone can save freedom from the machinations of self-seeking and interested parties and individuals.

When Rajputana was involved in slavery, the British Government kept it steeped in old customs and traditions of internecine dissensions which had so often proved the bane of Rajputs. If after the foreigners have gone the same evil persists, how can we say that we have achieved real freedom ? Such freedom can be achieved only when we realize Gandhiji's dream of Ram Raj.

Unlike what was in the past the might of India is not concentrated in Rajputana alone. The Army is no longer the monopoly of the so-called "military" castes. Persons of all provinces and all castes have now a share in the defence of the country. It is the responsibility of every citizen to feel that the country is free and it is his duty to protect it. Every Indian must now forget that he is a Rajput, Jat, Sikh, etc. He must remember that as an Indian he has equal claims on the country and responsibilities also.

The Rulers must understand that they are trustees of the people and servants of the State. Their relations with the people are those of father and children. They must zealously safeguard the interests of the people whose welfare must be their primary concern. In the context of present conditions it implies that they must stand out as constitutional Rulers, exercising their influence by their benevolent advice rather than by any active interference in the sphere of administration. Similarly, the people must realize their responsibility towards their Rulers by pointing out their true interests and speaking the truth.

Small States cannot now subsist as they did in the past. They have also to realize their destiny in the present scheme of things in the country. They can only play their true and honoured part by merging themselves in bigger and more sizeable entities.

The watchword of India should be unity. India has made a tremendous sacrifice for freedom. A part of living India has been torn away. The rest cannot but be and must be a whole. We are trying to achieve that unity. Many Princes have realized their duty. Orissa, C.P. and Kathiawar Rulers have pointed the way by making heavy sacrifices for the sake of Indian Unity. We hope Malwa and Bundelkhand Rulers will follow suit.

If within five or six months of India's attaining freedom all this can happen, can Rajasthan afford to lie low? It has to get up, walk about and run. That is the only way that Rajasthan can march with the times. Those who are still dreaming of establishing a Rajput hegemony are clearly out of time in the present trend of circumstances.

It is the duty of the majority community to protect the minority whose interests, as it were, come as part of a trust to the former. Muslims, after all, number only four crores, Hindus about thirty crores. It is incumbent on them, therefore, to protect the Muslims in India.

The need for unity is great. Do not create dissensions among Praja Mandal workers. Dissensions do no good to anybody. Unity in the conduct of administration is essential in every State, more particularly is it necessary in the case of Alwar whose finances seem to be in a precarious stage. The lower subordinates are ill-paid. Recurring deficits in such limited income are bound to lead to bankruptcy. All this has to be remedied.

Rajputana has yet to realize its duty. It has yet to breathe the air of freedom. Gandhiji's message of removal of untouchability has still to find an echo in every Rajput's heart

I advise women to produce their own cloth and thereby contribute to the country's economy.

“ THE FUTURE IS NOW WITH THE PEOPLE ”

An appeal to the people of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union to realize their responsibility in the present difficult conditions in the country and to close up their ranks, and an exposition of the achievements and policy of the States Ministry during the last six months, were the highlights of this speech which Sardar Patel delivered at the inauguration of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union on July 15, 1948, in the historic Darbar Hall at Patiala. The picturesque setting of the hall, under the shadow of giant chandeliers and a mixed array of portraits of Sikh Gurus and Royalty, provided a fitting background to a speech which covered such variety of subjects as the duties of the Princes, and of the people, India's secular approach to its problems and the responsibility of the new Union to the country as a whole.

*Patiala,
July 15, 1948.*

TODAY we have assembled on a historic occasion. A new chapter in the history of India is opening up before us. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that we are all participating in such an auspicious event ; we have also occasion to be proud of it. But along with this pride and this celebration let us not be unmindful of our duties and obligations. We must cleanse our hearts and purify our minds and resolve to do pure deeds by ourselves, by the new Union and by our country. We should harbour no evil, we should reflect who we are, what we have inherited and what we have achieved. If you look at the history of India, you will find that for centuries India was steeped in slavery. What struggles, what sacrifices, what bitterness and what sorrow we all had to face to rid India of that centuries-old malady that had eaten into the very vitals of its nationhood ! A great change has come about, indeed a great revolution has been brought into being. The greater the change, the more comprehensive the revolution, the more are the travails through which the country has to pass. We have already had more than our due share of troubles and turmoils. We are lucky to have survived so many of them, but many are still to be overcome. If we falter or fail, we shall consign ourselves to eternal shame and disgrace.

I want you to realize the full gravity of the situation and to consider the position in the light of the legacy which we have inherited. Did anyone dream a year or two ago that one-third of India would be integrated in this fashion? This is the first time in history after centuries that India can call itself an integrated whole in the real sense of the term. But we must all resolve that whatever mistakes we might commit, we should do nothing which would be calculated to send India back into the slavery of the past. It is, therefore, the duty of India's valiant sons to see that the clocks of progress are not put back, but advance forward. We must also realize that if we have to take our due place in the comity of nations it will not come to us for the asking, but we shall have to strain every nerve for it.

What I told you during my last visit to Amritsar and Patiala in September and October last year still deserves to be carefully considered. I told you then that it was not necessary for you to struggle for power from the Princes. If we approach them in the right fashion they themselves would be willing to surrender it. Those words have come true today. In the achievements which are shown to the credit of the States Ministry the Princes have their due share. Similarly, I asked the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Punjab States, to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and stranded refugees by giving an undisturbed passage to the Muslim refugees going to Pakistan. The Sikhs who have always extended their love and consideration to me listened to the appeal which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and I made on that occasion and agreed to give that passage. You were then united, but now I see proofs of disunity in your ranks. If you feel that the danger is passed and you can indulge in the pastime of dissensions, you are grievously mistaken. Punjab's, or for that matter India's, troubles are not over; we have still to face scores of them during the troublous times ahead. Just as you agreed to make way for Muslims in compliance with my appeal, you have to make similar way for free India to forge its course ahead: you have to give a helping hand in the same way as you did then.

If I have come today, it is not only to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend and brother, the Maharaja of Patiala, but also to tell you what your duty is in the circumstances in which the country is situated today. You have not succeeded in forming a Ministry. I am neither sorry nor disturbed over it. Those who have never undertaken the task of administration before are naturally reluctant, afraid or hesitant, but what is, therefore, necessary is to have a stout heart and a fearless mind. If you read the history of democratic countries, you will find that where there is stability, the task of administration goes on steadily, but where a country is foundationally unsteady, it becomes a prey to all sorts of influences,

feelings, sentiments and ideas. Our primary aim should, therefore, be to achieve that stability which is the surest foundation of progress. That stability can come only when there is unity in our ranks. It is true that for the foundation of a democratic Government we must have a Government and an opposition, but today while we have yet to stand on our legs we have got to strengthen ourselves and that strength cannot come by dissensions in our ranks but by unity of purpose, unity of aims and unity of endeavour.

It is almost a year since the country attained freedom. No country has suffered so much within the first year of its birth as India has. Eastern Punjab States and Patiala occupy a strategic position in the new circumstances of the country. The responsibility of the Rulers and the people of this area is greater than that of any other part of the Union. That responsibility is increased manifold if we consider that we have a neighbour with whom our relations are not of friendliness, trust and confidence. In these circumstances, the responsibility of the border people is greater and, therefore, our duty of unity is heavier. I harbour no ill-will nor do I wish to hurt anyone. My only desire is that India should be well protected and that it should be for every Indian to see that there are no loopholes or weak links in the whole system of security, both external and internal. In my efforts to achieve this the Rulers have helped me a lot. It is now for the people to extend their helping hand to me. Time is of the essence. We have to move quickly and unless we do so, we have a big stake to lose.

The charge is sometimes hurled against the States Ministry that it has moved too quickly. But the world today is different from the world of yesterday. Things could move slowly and steadily in the old world where there was more leisure and less speed. Today one day is equal to a century. See how overnight States have fallen and empires have disappeared ! Who can say then that time does not fly and that we can afford to wait ? In integration and democratization, therefore, there must be quick progress if the country is to avoid disasters and threats to its existence and unity. In this connection I warn certain Princes who are still thinking of disturbing the security and integrity of the States. Some one of them pays heed to an astrologer that in August the Ministry would break and Government would fall, thereby giving him a chance to stage a march to Delhi. Some others listened to a so-called *sadhu* who predicted all sorts of things and advised them to take steps calculated seriously to jeopardise the interests of the country. People are talking about differences in the Cabinet. They do not seem to realize that the Cabinet system of government is based on the principle of joint responsibility. We stand or fall together. Some are talking in terms of Jatistan,

some in terms of Rajastan. Some seem to be scheming about staging disturbances when India gets involved in Hyderabad. Let all these persons remember that we have not taken the reins of office to destroy what we have achieved. We have done so not only to build a sound system of administration but to raise a noble edifice of which both we and the future can feel proud and happy. To that task we shall devote ourselves with full energy and vigour and resources. We are not going to give in because astrologers and *sadhus* say so or other evil designers desire it. We shall give in only when we have done our job. I feel that in that task we are entitled to receive the co-operation of every true son of India and if each one of us plays the part which we must, I have no doubt that we shall succeed.

Many have asked me the question what is going to happen to Hyderabad. They forget that when I spoke at Junagadh I said openly that if Hyderabad did not behave properly, it would have to go the way that Junagadh did. Those words still stand and I stand by those words. The former Governor-General Lord Mountbatten thought that he would be able to secure a peaceful settlement. I let him do so. He tried his best. The Nizam used to pride himself in being styled 'His Majesty's Faithful Ally'. Britishers feel that that gives them some right to approach the Nizam and to make sincere efforts to win him round to the path of sanity and peace. It was in this spirit that Lord Mountbatten assisted by Sir Walter Monckton, hoped to the last to be able to secure by negotiations what they felt Hyderabad must offer to India and India must offer to Hyderabad. Although I was doubtful whether the efforts would succeed, I let them try. We also wanted that if things could be settled peacefully so much the better. But although up to the last Lord Mountbatten was hopeful of settlement, that hope never materialised owing to the intransigence of the Nizam and the fanaticism of the forces at his back. But I should like to make one thing clear. The terms and the talks which Lord Mountbatten had have gone with him. Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of other settlements with the States. No help from outside on which he seems to rest his pathetic hopes would avail him. I grant there has been delay in settling this question, but to those who are restless I should like to say, "You must trust us. The pangs which you feel for Hyderabad are shared by me no less, but when we have to perform an operation, we have to see that as little of the limb involved is cut as possible, and that the operation is performed only when the time is ripe. We shall take action actuated by this motive and this alone. We will not allow any other extraneous consideration to influence us, for that way alone lies the interest of the country."

On the people of the Union new responsibility has devolved. To rule by one's will alone is easy : to rule by consent and jointly is a difficult task, particularly when administrative experience is lacking. It is for this reason that we all must tread the ground cautiously. As for criticism of the so-called dual control and the system of advisers and administrators we ourselves do not want to inflict on the people officers whom we can ill spare. The number of competent and able officers is limited. We ourselves want every one of them, but people must realise that in the successes or failures of these Unions, the Central Government has a great stake. The quickening of the steps and the transfer of power in the States are not the achievements of the States' people alone. The States Ministry has played a major part and it is, therefore, its responsibility to see that efficient and orderly government rules over these territories. Swaraj involves learning by experience. That is proverbially costly but we have to ensure that the cost is not disproportionately high and serious mistakes are prevented. It is not wise or practical politics to rush headlong into experiments and decisions of doubtful wisdom. The position is such that everyone must tread cautiously. Mistakes can be tolerated elsewhere where administration is set on an even key, but where the foundations have not been well and properly laid they cannot be tolerated.

We must be mindful of the need of a secular approach to the Indian problem. Religion is by no means the target of attack by the Government. There is no question of the Central Government attacking any religion or placing any religion in danger. We have not done so even in the case of those who separated from us. It is they themselves who are attacking their own co-religionists. One of the true followers of the Prophet, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, has been placed behind the bars by the Frontier Government and recently the Pakistan Government has sanctioned the bombing of the defenceless tribesmen of the Frontier. As a contrast, I may refer to the decision which the Government of India took not to resort to bombing when a band of tribal marauders attacked defenceless people in the settled districts of Hazara. That was the decision of a Government which was predominantly non-Muslim, whereas a Muslim Government of Pakistan has sanctioned bombing operations against the Muslims of the tribal territories.

I must mention the notable contribution which H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala made to the unity and integrity of India. He took up the cause of the country at a time when there were few friends amongst the Princely Order and when serious attempts were being made to balkanise India by means of one or more Rajastans. It was his patriotic lead that contributed in a large measure to a change in the attitude of the Princes to the problem of accession to the Indian Dominion. I acknowledge the ready and willing

help which the Rulers have given me in implementing the policy of integration and democratization. This involved on their part considerable sacrifice and self-denial. For all this I am most grateful. I am particularly happy to associate myself with the inauguration ceremony of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union as this is the last celebration of its kind. It marks the coping stone of the arch which the Government of India with the co-operation of the Rulers and the States' people, has built to contribute towards the stability of the country's structure. It now remains with the people to utilise the tremendous opportunity that lies before them. The future is now with the people ; they themselves can make or mar it.

ON COMMUNAL MATTERS

“ BREAK THE VICIOUS CIRCLE ”

The two-nation theory invented and preached by the Muslim League yielded its results in the middle of August, 1947, when partition of India became a settled fact. In the West Punjab men and children were butchered, women raped and killed, or worse still, carried away ; houses looted and set on fire ; in the East Punjab in their mad anger the people retaliated. An exchange of population was forced upon the Governments of India and Pakistan. Millions were uprooted from their homes and the respective governments were getting them across the border when further disgraceful atrocities were perpetrated : convoys were attacked and the people were done to death as they were trekking their way up or down.

To stop the “ vicious circles of attacks and counter-attacks ”, the Deputy Prime Minister flew to Amritsar on September 30, 1947 and addressed on the same day a meeting of Sikh leaders and later a very largely attended mass meeting. The speeches had a profound effect on the situation and created a great impression. They brought back peace and sanity where disorder and bestiality were rampant.

*Amritsar,
September 30, 1947.*

I APPEAL to the Sikh leaders to throw in their weight for the maintenance of peace in the interests of millions of men, women and children, many of whom have been trekking their way from West Punjab for three weeks now and are braving the elements and the worst physical conditions possible, in the ultimate hope of living among their own kith and kin.

It behoves them in the larger interests of India in general and East Punjab in particular to so organize themselves as to assure safe passage to Muslim refugees travelling whether on foot or by trains or in trucks.

I feel it is a disgrace to all that military force should be used to compel them to give transit facilities ; instead, I think it is in keeping with your dignity, reputation for valour and self-respect that you should raise a volunteer force which will come forward and guarantee complete immunity from attacks to these refugees.

All of you know how dear the Sikhs are to me and that I have nothing but the good of the community at heart. I feel it is in the

best interests of your community and of its future prosperity in East Punjab that the sooner we get our refugees the better. It is only then that you can create in East Punjab the garden which you created in West Punjab by your efforts and show to the world that a flower of manhood inhabits this sacred land.

I appeal to you to break the vicious circle of attacks and retaliation at least for a week and then see if there was a satisfactory response. If you were disappointed, the whole world would know whom to hold irrevocably guilty.

“ NO RETALIATION ”

Amritsar,

September 30, 1947.

I REMEMBER how it is in this very same city, Amritsar, I held discussions a few years ago for raising a suitable memorial to the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh and how at Lahore for the first time we all—Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims—took the pledge of winning complete independence. In the blood-bath of Jallianwala Bagh had mixed the blood of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

I am grieved to think that things have come to such a pass that no Muslim can go about in Amritsar and no Hindu or Sikh can even think of living in Lahore. The erection of a memorial to Jallianwala Bagh martyrs has become a painful memory and the hard-won freedom has been followed by such unspeakable tragedies. This is a situation which has brought dishonour and disgrace to all of us and India which looked forward to raising her stature in the eyes of the world after the attainment of independence, has now to hang her head in shame.

Butchery of innocent and defenceless men, women and children does not behove brave men ; it is the war of the jungle and the hall-mark of inhumanity and barbarity. There will be occasions and opportunities for all of you to show your zest for fight ; one must seek for it one's ground and suitable time. It is now time not to be foolhardy or desperate but time to reflect calmly on your course of action.

We have won our freedom to make our country great and prosperous, not to destroy what little has been vouchsafed to us by our alien rulers. If we are not careful, we shall lose even our long-cherished freedom which we have secured after such suffering and so many struggles. You must remember that the lives of millions are at stake ; they cannot be gambled away to enable us to satisfy any spirit of vengeance or retaliation. It is essential that

you must maintain peace and break the vicious circle of attack and retaliation and counter-retaliation and see to it that the refugees have safe transit. Any obstacle in the way of refugee movement will only worsen the plight of our refugees who are fighting the elements, hunger, disease and maltreatment, to come to a land where they hope to find peace, shelter and opportunities to lead a peaceful and civilized existence. We should do nothing to shatter this hope which is probably the only thing that is sustaining them.

I am quite certain that India's interest lies in getting all her men and women across the border and sending out all Muslims from East Punjab. We can then settle down to the tremendous task of repairing the damage done and to make this land by our labours the same fruitful garden as our refugees have left behind.

I deprecate the demand for police and military aid which people are putting forward. Such a demand may befit the weak but it does not suit the brave and able-bodied men of the Punjab. They should organize themselves on the right lines. The safety and defence of the frontiers are the concern of the Government but at the same time people should organize themselves. The Government will give them arms and equipment if they knew how to use them on the right lines.

I have come to you with a specific appeal and that is to pledge the safety of Muslim refugees crossing the city. It is hardly creditable to us that we do not realize wherein our good lies. Muslim evacuees are going under agreed arrangements of exchange of population. They should really need no protection but should be allowed to go in peace. Bitterness fed by years of propaganda of hate has gone too deep to allow any Muslim to remain in the East Punjab and any Hindu or Sikh to live in West Punjab. It is, therefore, in the interest of everyone that this exchange should be effected peacefully and smoothly. Any obstacles or hindrances will only worsen the plight of our refugees who are already performing prodigious feats of valour and endurance.

It does not become a brave people to perpetrate deeds of brutality on defenceless men, women and children. This is not dictated by any code of chivalry or honour. If others cast chivalry and honour to the winds it does not justify us in debasing ourselves. If we have to fight we must fight clean. Such a fight must await appropriate time and conditions and you must be wary in choosing your ground.

To fight against the refugees is no fight at all. No laws of humanity or war among honourable men permit the murder of people who have sought shelter and protection. Such misdeeds on the other side can be left to be tackled at a more opportune time.

I appeal to you to act with prudence and foresight. You should allow free and unmolested passage to the Muslim refugees.

Let there be a truce for three months in which both sides can exchange their refugees. This sort of truce is permitted even by laws of war. Let us take the initiative in breaking this vicious circle of attacks and counter-attacks. They do good to nobody; they can only do a great deal of harm to us.

If you do not have faith in the Pakistan Government or its people, you can hold your hands for a week and see what happens. If they do not observe the truce in the right spirit, the world will know who the breakers of the laws of humanity are. We shall then have every justification for holding them to account.

Make way for the refugees with your own force of volunteers and let them deliver the refugees safely at the frontier. Let the whole world see that we mean well and we mean business and it is they who have evil intentions and evil designs.

“ FRIENDLY ADVICE ”

The Deputy Prime Minister and the Defence Minister arrived at Patiala on October 22, 1947, to attend the Panthic Conference which met in the Darbar Hall. At the request of H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, who presided, Sardar Patel addressed the gathering.

The address had a special significance in view of the disturbed state of the mind of the Sikhs as a result of the terrible experience through which they had passed and were passing. The address paved the way for a gradual reorientation of the Sikh attitude towards current politics.

Later, on the same day, he addressed a mass meeting convened by the Praja Mandal and “attended by more than one lakh and a half people.”

Patiala,

October 22, 1947.

ON hearing of the convening of the conference the Defence Minister and I decided to meet the Sikh leaders at a very critical time in their history.

I intend to place before you a few words of friendly advice as from one who has throughout admired your virtues of courage and patriotism and has nothing but the warmest friendly feeling for your community.

I recall how with the strong support of H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, I appealed to your leaders and the vast gathering at Amritsar for your help and co-operation in securing safe passage for Muslim convoys through Amritsar. I was gratified at the response to that appeal and I regarded that response as a token of the regard which you were kind enough to show me.

I warn you against hasty decisions on vital matters in a most difficult situation. I fully appreciate the tempers which have been disturbed under the blows which destiny has visited upon you and the anger that rules your hearts.

But you are a brave people and you must face the situation like brave men. It does not behove the brave to besmirch the honour of their swords and the fair name of their community and country

by spilling innocent blood. The time is for calm and dispassionate thinking over your future course of action and for wisely so shaping your conduct as to bring glory to that community and your country, and not for bemoaning your fate or counting your losses and vainly hoping to make up for them by retaliation. The Sikh community has been misrepresented and vilified abroad by certain interested propagandists. You have to rehabilitate your reputation which you built up during the two World Wars. For that, it is not enough to wield the sword, but to know how to use it. These propagandists are concentrating on maligning Sikhs.

There is another set of propagandists which is bent on isolating Sikhs and creating divisions between Hindus and Sikhs and propagating that it would now be a conflict between Sikhs and Hindus. This set is more hostile than the first. The latter is only creating a legend to serve to revive old imperialist justification for foreign rule in India. The former are, however, enemies both within our ranks and without. They must be guarded against and their propaganda given a lie to.

When we accepted division, it was like ourselves agreeing to have a diseased limb amputated so that the remaining may live in a sound condition. But before we could start the process of healing, events have overtaken us. Evil cannot be met by evil, but by good. Although we cannot act in entire accord with the creed of non-violence in the imperfect state of mental and moral equipment which is necessary for that purpose, we cannot act in such manner as to degrade the sword which we wield. When the right time and the right cause come, you can use your sword to your heart's content. Now you have to sheathe your sword so that you can raise the moral tone of the people which is now at such a low ebb that lawlessness, contempt for law, attacks on innocent train passengers and brutalities on helpless persons are being perpetrated. It is up to all of us to check that tendency and you can give the right lead in the matter. We must create the right atmosphere in which we can achieve our cherished objectives of raising the status and the standard of living of the people. We must resuscitate our moral sense which seems to have been dulled by the prejudices and anger which cloud our minds. Unless we rise above such prejudices and anger, we can never achieve all that we fought the struggle for freedom for.

I appeal to those present to take decisions consistent with your responsibilities. You must support your Government which is valiantly struggling against heavy odds. It is your own Government which is entitled to your support.

I thank you for the honour done to me by inviting me to address this most representative gathering.

“FORGET YOUR MUTUAL QUARRELS”

Patiala,

October 22, 1947.

I RECALL how after years of struggle and suffering, India has won independence and shaken off the foreign yoke. All of us who took part in this struggle did so with the idea that when independence was achieved, there would be good government in India. When we accepted partition, it was with the sincere desire that we should thereby be enabled to work out our own salvation, unhampered by factors which rendered progress impossible. At the same time, we wished Pakistan well and hoped that under settled conditions, when they realized that we were really brothers and not two nations of different faiths and ideologies, they would come back to us. But the poison has been injected too far by the ceaseless propaganda of hate and of the two-nation theory.

The result has been that no Sikh and Hindu can live in peace and safety in Pakistan, a fact which had its reactions in that no Muslim could live without fear in East Punjab. Nevertheless, we have to so order our conduct that no further internecine quarrels taint our history. We must all live in amity and goodwill and must not tolerate ‘Goonda Raj’ which is being perpetrated in various areas owing to the spirit of lawlessness which the last few weeks have generated and promoted. . .

After alien rule to which both the Rulers of the States and the people were equally subject has been removed, all those who are left belong to one family. There can, therefore, be no quarrel with the Princes.

They are ours and we can make them understand and appreciate our point of view. But, before you can make them understand and ask them to relieve themselves of the burden which they are shouldering, it is your bounden duty that you must be worthy of taking over those responsibilities. It is not enough to ask for responsible government. You must know how to digest it.

No government can function without popular support. Travancore and Mysore are living examples of how in the fitness and fulness of time, popular unity and strength had made the Rulers part with power. This shows that we must change our method to suit the new circumstances which the departure of alien rule has created.

I myself took part in many a fight with Rulers in the past. But I always told them that my struggle lay not with the Rulers, but those agents of alien power who were propping them up against popular demand and popular forces. But the days of vilifying

Princes, calling them names and maligning them are gone. It is not only wasteful energy to concentrate on them, but also needless irritation and profitless undertaking. Our methods now have to be guided by a more friendly approach and in a spirit of understanding and goodwill. No government anywhere in India can be carried on without popular support. I am sure the Princes themselves realize that their interests lie in taking the people with them. Why should we, therefore, pick quarrels or choose the path of ill-will and hostility?

I appeal to you to cultivate a proper sense of moral values. I ask you to do a little heart-searching. We can only advise you, but you can act on that advice only according to your capacity. If you are selfless workers, you will get your reward. But if you become involved in mutual jealousies and internecine quarrels, you can only do damage to the cause which you profess to uphold. When we achieved independence, it was with a view to carving out for India a place in the world polity, and to raising the stature and the standard of living of the people. Instead, we find ourselves fully preoccupied with the task of meeting the most gigantic problem of refugee relief that has ever faced man in human history.

This is not the time to involve ourselves in needless disputes, nor can we ever afford to follow the mirage of many "stans" like Khalistans and Sikhistsans or Jatistans. If we are not careful and become a prey to these inimical ideas, we can only succeed in turning India into a *pagalistan* (land of lunatics). It is, therefore, up to you to forget your mutual quarrels and behave with a sense of responsibility and in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. We have formidable tasks before us. Attacks on railways, looting and the part which sometimes even the military and the police play in such incidents merely show that we are face to face with moral bankruptcy, which, if not checked, must mean downfall and ruin.

Remember, if a hungry man dies of starvation, he dies without a stain on his honour. But one who steals to feed himself virtually suffers from living death. He has not followed the path of honour and glory, but that of shame and disgrace. If we want popular government, we must build up popular support and strength. Princes want respect and reverence. They will gracefully yield to popular demands if they find that a sense of responsibility and popular support prompts the popular organizations. I, therefore, ask such organizations to work selflessly and in a spirit of public service and thereby earn not only the gratitude of the people but also the confidence of the Rulers and achieve the object which is neither inimical to the interests of the Princes, nor inconsistent with their responsibilities. For, after all, no Prince can afford to treat popular support with contumely, nor popular grievances with impunity.

“GOEBBELS’ PROPAGANDA IS REBORN”

In a broadcast from Lahore on November 4, 1947, the Prime Minister of Pakistan sought to justify the action of the raiders in Kashmir. In the past, the League had always stayed out of the popular struggle against Rulers, particularly so in Kashmir. When Paramountcy lapsed, the League leaders held that the States became independent and entire freedom of choice in the matter of accession was vested in the Rulers. Not realizing the effect of a ‘volte face’ the Prime Minister of Pakistan now waxed eloquent over the past struggle of the people against the Rulers and pretended that the action of the marauding invaders in Kashmir was a continuation of that struggle.

The following statement of the Deputy Prime Minister of India was issued on November 6 from New Delhi in reply to the performance of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Deputy Prime Minister pointed out the irrelevance and absurdity of the charges and indicated that the boot was on the other leg.

New Delhi,

November 6, 1947.

It would be useless on my part to attempt to deal at any length with the many nightmares and imaginary visions of a wide-spread plan for the extermination of Muslims in the States which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has conjured up in the broadcast made from his sick-bed. One might expect hallucinations in a state of frenzy, but the stage of delirium which the broadcast most certainly exhibits, cannot but have filled his listeners and readers with amazement and apprehension.

History has been dishonestly and mischievously distorted : freebooters and looters have been dubbed as liberators and heroes : the wanton and mass tragedies inflicted by the raiders on the innocent, helpless and peaceful inhabitants of villages in the Happy Valley have been treated as matters of no consequence and what is virtually an elaborately planned, fully equipped and professionally directed invasion from a friendly territory, has been presented as a rising of the people against the tyranny and oppression of a ruling race.

The grim tragedy which overtook the British members of a religious order at Baramula, the details of which are too

heartrending to tell and the murder in cold blood of European families there, are sufficient to reveal the true character of the so-called missionaries of liberation and emancipation.

The ceaseless hysteric outbursts of the Prime Minister of the N.W.F.P., together with the known composition of these raiders and their equipment fully bear out the interest taken by a neighbouring State, the leaders of which, more than anyone else, have constantly harped in the past on the independent character of the States after the lapse of Paramountcy and the entire freedom of choice in the matter of accession vested in their Rulers.

As if Kashmir alone was not an adequate target for the venomous shafts of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he has encompassed within his indictment the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala which, be it noted, are States that have acceded to the Indian Union, a State with which again Pakistan has friendly relations. As usual, however, facts have either been ignored or been given a distortion to suit the picture which the Prime Minister deliberately intended to overdraw.

The troubles in Alwar and Bharatpur occurred when the Prime Minister of Pakistan was a distinguished member of the Indian Cabinet and the relationship with the States was, as he ought to have known, conducted by the Crown Representative. The initiative in those disturbances was taken by Meos with whom the Jats and Rajputs have had occasional feuds. Houses of non-Muslims were burnt, their cattle were stolen, and their farms were set on fire.

I have no doubt that but for the poison of hate and the communal virus which had been injected into the body politic by the League propaganda of the two-nation theory, this feud like many others would have been settled in a satisfactory and amicable manner. Instead, interested parties from outside took a hand until a situation was reached when neither side could give to the other any mercy.

Nevertheless, Meos in thousands have returned to these States and those that wish to go, neither persuasion nor arguments would succeed in restraining, for they know the destruction of non-Muslim homes and property which they have wrought.

As regards the States of Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala, I see no reason why the Pakistan Prime Minister should have, unless it were for his own ulterior ends, isolated them from the general flare-up which has overtaken the East and West Punjab and for which not one single community is to blame entirely. If the Rulers of these States have not been able to prevent communal disturbances, to a degree which would have prevented evacuation of Muslims, they share that discredit with other governments, including the

Pakistan Government, who so ignominiously failed to arrest the tide.

The Pakistan Prime Minister talks of a widespread plan for the extermination of Muslims. Of course, it did not suit his purpose to mention the brutal and mass murders which have taken place in a State which was quite susceptible to their influence and which had sometime ago, acceded to the Pakistan federation, namely, the State of Bahawalpur, where non-Muslims have suffered untold losses in men, women and children and property. But obviously, Pakistan holds that what is sauce for the Pakistan goose cannot be sauce for the Indian gander.

While non-Muslims can be exterminated without remorse ruthlessly from Pakistan and its neighbouring States, producing its inevitable reaction in the Indian Union, the blame must rest with the latter, for the inhabitants of the latter have refused meekly to submit to the fate of their co-religionists in the former. It is this perverted logic on which the whole conception and policy of the Government of Pakistan are based, and it is this perverted logic which the Pakistan Prime Minister has left to his appreciative audience and the world to judge !

The Pakistan Prime Minister has also made the following statement : " When we asked the Indian Government to protect the Muslims in these States, we were told that these events were the States' internal affairs and the Indian Government could not interfere."

Whenever this question was broached between the two Governments, the limitations imposed by constitutional relationship on interference in the internal administration of a State were mutually recognized. The last time when this was formally placed on record was when the representatives of two Governments met in Delhi on September 19. In fact in the past the League leaders have themselves been loud in their protestations of the absolute independence and sovereignty of the States on the lapse of Paramountcy both in the internal and external spheres.

It does not now lie in the mouth of the Pakistan Prime Minister to twist the constitutional relationship between the Union and the acceding States in such manner as to convey the impression that the Indian Union did not intervene while tragedies were overtaking the Muslim population in these States. If he is serious or sincere, let him first set his own house in order and take action against Bahawalpur State which has acceded to Pakistan and which is no less guilty of atrocities and cruelties than the State in the Indian Union referred to by him.

With the Pakistan Government, however, it is quite clear that such distortions, misrepresentations, concealments, and grossly

prejudiced and unbalanced versions are becoming the tricks of the trade. Before the last war and during it the whole population of the world has become familiar with the kind of propaganda which was associated with the name of the late Dr. Goebbels. That propaganda is now reborn, but I am sure that the world, to whose judgment the Prime Minister of Pakistan has left matters, will not be deceived.

“ THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE ”

Since August 15, the monster of communalism and the Punjab disturbances gave little chance to the National Government of India to address itself to the task of raising the standard of living of the common people. The disturbances in the Punjab had their repercussions in Delhi and elsewhere and Gandhiji had to stay on in the capital to effect a change of heart in his erring countrymen. The supreme need of the hour was to restore peace.

On December 29, 1947, opening a library at Mehrauli, a village 11 miles from New Delhi, the Deputy Prime Minister addressed a big gathering of villagers from the Province of Delhi and neighbouring districts of East Punjab.

Mehrauli (Delhi),

December 29, 1947.

INTERNAL peace and communal harmony are absolutely essential if the Government are to go ahead with their plans for improving the lot of the common man in India. Disturbed conditions are detrimental to your own interests. Leave the work of fighting to the Government and we shall fight the real enemy of India.

We have fought against foreign domination because we wanted to drive away poverty from our country and make the life of its people worth living. What is the good of our achieving independence if Indians continue to be poor and if no difference is felt with the coming in of the National Government ?

The real work has not been completed. Actually it was to start now. But the time since August 15, short but precious, has been lost in communal fighting ; thus nothing constructive could be done. The President of the Local Congress Committee has drawn my attention to the poverty prevailing among the people of Mehrauli, but if they wanted the Government to do something about it, they must first create the right atmosphere. They must have a clean slate before any step could be taken.

A large number of Muslims had been living in Mehrauli but now they have left the place. The same kind of thing has happened

in Delhi, the capital of India, and that is really deplorable. The communal rioting has given India a bad name abroad and provided the foreigners with a chance to say that the Indians are not capable of managing their own house.

All hopes of bringing about a radical change in the living conditions of the people of India have come to naught, because the entire resources of the Government are employed in maintaining law and order. You must co-operate with us and all that we ask of you is to keep peace. These disturbances have been a terrible strain on the finances of the country. You must realize that nearly 4 lakhs are being spent every day on Kashmir operations alone. We shall continue our work in Kashmir and shall not concede even an inch of our country. The people must face the fact that Pakistan has been established and that those Muslims who wanted to migrate to it have done so already. Those who elected to remain in India could with no justification be asked to leave the country. I appeal to you to create such an atmosphere that no Muslim may feel unsafe among you.

If you are attacked, fight back by all means, but no one should commit such acts of barbarity as killing innocent women and children and patients in hospitals.

In your Library you must be careful in the selection of books and newspapers, as poisonous reading material is liable to bring about mental ill-health. Literacy must be spread among women also or India will not be able to move forward.

“ YOU CANNOT RIDE TWO HORSES ”

On his way back to Delhi from Shillong via Calcutta, the Deputy Prime Minister stopped at Lucknow and addressed a vast gathering there.

The background of this speech is important. However much one might desire to forget the past, it has a tendency to live in the present and the happenings since August 15 do not show that the ghost of communal separatism raised by the League in 1940 had been laid. With some exceptions, particularly in N.W.F.P., the Muslims of India followed the League very largely in the elections till partition was effected. Not only in Bengal where they were in a majority but also in Orissa where they form a tiny minority, they declared that they belonged to a separate nation and Pakistan was their goal. Now that Pakistan was established how could it be taken for granted that the men who had been so fanatical about Pakistan till yesterday would transfer their loyalty to India overnight ? This question was agitating many minds in India. In Junagadh, in Hyderabad and again in Kashmir, Pakistan's hidden hand had been only too evident. When relations were getting strained between the two Dominions how could responsible leaders of the one view without misgiving the possibility, indeed the strong probability, of a lurking loyalty in a large mass of its citizens for the other ? Indeed, it would, perhaps, be unwise to ignore the past altogether.

In this background, Sardar Patel made a speech which was both momentous and thought-provoking.

*Lucknow,
January 6, 1948.*

OUR achievements of the last four months have to some extent restored the country's prestige which it had lost in the eyes of the world because of the unfortunate happenings following partition. I appeal to the younger generation to assist us in consolidating India and making her impregnable

The maintenance of communal and industrial peace is essential if the newly-born independent democratic State of India is to lead the Asian countries on the road to progress and emancipation from foreign domination.

I am a true friend of the Muslims although I have been described as their greatest enemy. I believe in plain speaking. I



Sardar Patel planting a mango tree in the Government House, Lucknow.

do not know how to mince matters. I want to tell them frankly that mere declarations of loyalty to the Indian Union will not help them at this critical juncture. They must give practical proof of their declarations.

I ask them why they do not unequivocally denounce Pakistan for attacking Indian territory with the connivance of Frontier tribesmen. Is it not their duty to condemn all acts of aggression against India?

I invite the R.S.S. to join the Congress and not to weaken the administration by creating unrest in the country. I realize that they are not actuated by selfish motives but the situation warrants that they should strengthen the hands of the Government and assist in maintaining peace. By using violence they cannot render true service to the country.

The ever-changing, undecisive and non-committal attitude of Pakistan must be changed. Pakistan should change policy in her own interest. The Junagadh and Kashmir incidents have demonstrated her intention. If you want to divide the rest of India also, say it boldly, and let us decide the issue in open field.

The Pakistan leaders have accused the Congress of sabotaging Pakistan. That is far from the truth. The establishment of Pakistan has been advocated as a heaven for Muslims. We should be glad if they make it a heaven. They must realize that the enemies of Pakistan are inside it and not outside. If Pakistan collapsed, she would collapse by her own mistakes and sins.

Today I think of those days when in this city of Lucknow the foundation of the two-nation theory was laid. It was said Muslim culture and tradition were not akin to those of the Hindus. Muslims were a separate nation. Muslims of this place played a very important role in advocating this theory.

A few Nationalist Muslims protested against it. They combined with the Hindus because both were perturbed at the advocacy of such a theory and raised their voice. But my Muslim League brothers made a strong plea for separation. They said that they were not satisfied with separate electorates and safeguard of minority rights. They wanted separation and the establishment of a separate State.

Throughout the length and breadth of India the Muslim Leaguers spread the doctrine of separation. Muslim youth mostly came under their influence. They accepted it as the whole truth. Consequently, a wall was raised between them and those who were in the Congress.

In Calcutta on August 15, the "Direct Action Movement" was launched by them to give a direct blow to those who still did

not believe in the two-nation theory. We then thought if there was to be a division of the country, let it be divided. Let them manage their own affairs and we will manage our own. After all, we had to drive out a foreign Power. We were then facing the problem of getting rid of an alien rule. So we accepted the division of the country and thought we would see the partition question later.

I will be glad if the Muslim Leaguers can make Pakistan a 'heaven'. I will be happy if Pakistan becomes strong, happy and prosperous. But we did not think that even after separation we would not have breathing time. It is said today that plans for sabotaging Pakistan are being hatched in Hindustan. But I assure you all that the plan for destroying Pakistan is not being hatched in Hindustan. If it is being hatched, it is being done in Pakistan. It is the situation in Pakistan that will ruin Pakistan.

Sometimes they accuse the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Central Government of creating troubles. But I tell you that if Pakistan falls, it will fall not on account of us but on account of its own enemies within.

The Muslim Leaguers call me their greatest enemy. Formerly they used to call Mahatma Gandhi as Enemy Number One. Now they think Gandhiji is their friend and have substituted me in his place, because I speak the truth. They believed if they got Pakistan, they would ensure full protection for the Muslims. But have they ever looked at the Muslims living in Hindustan? Have they ever sympathized with them?

When freedom was won, came the Punjab massacre which lowered our prestige. Then came the Junagadh issue followed by the Kashmir problem.

We raised the question with Pakistan. They replied : "We are not concerned." It was the Azad Government Dal in Kashmir and Kashmir Muslims who were responsible for aggression. But it is no secret that the Frontier tribesmen are receiving rations, war material, motor trucks and petrol.

As a last resort, the India Government referred the Kashmir issue to the U.N.O. Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan says why we got out to wash the dirty linen. Are they not satisfied in washing their dirt in the Punjab in the last four months? It is a deliberate falsehood !

I want to ask the Indian Muslims only one question. In the recent All-India Muslim Conference why did you not open your mouth on the Kashmir issue? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan?

These things create doubt in the minds of the people. So I want to say a word as a friend of Muslims and it is the duty of a



good friend to speak frankly. It is your duty now to sail in the same boat and sink or swim together. I want to tell you very clearly that you cannot ride on two horses. You select one horse, whichever you like best.

In the Constituent Assembly, one of the Lucknow Muslim Leaguers pleaded for separate electorates and reservation of seats. I had to open my mouth and say that he could not have it both ways. Now he is in Pakistan. Those who want to go to Pakistan can go there and live in peace. Let us live here in peace to work for ourselves.

The Muslim League Government in Pakistan declared that they would make suitable arrangements for the minorities living there. But ask the Sind Hindu refugees today. They say it is impossible to remain there. Pakistan is drifting towards lawlessness. There are about eight to ten lakhs of Hindus who want to come out of Pakistan. Some say eight to ten lakhs of Muslims should be driven out of Hindustan. But this is not a sound policy.

Let them leave Pakistan alone and pursue their policy. We are not at all disturbed. If they want to fight, we are 34 crores here. We have also men, materials and resources. Pakistan is a baby of yesterday. But it is not wise to mete out the same treatment to the Muslims as the Hindus are receiving there.

I understand there is an urge for military training among the youth. Military training is good and there is great need of it. You should now discard fighting with lathis, daggers and brickbats. I appeal to young men of India to unify India from all sides, because do not forget that India was lost on account of foolishness. That foolishness should not be repeated in future. But unfortunately I find the same foolishness prevailing everywhere.

If the States problem had not been properly handled, there would have been a Rajastan. The screen of a Political Department between us and the States has been withdrawn. I contacted Rajas of various States as soon as Paramountcy was over. Most of them are real patriots. I explained to them the present political situation and apprised them of the situation in Pakistan. I also stressed the point that India was lost on account of internal feuds. They have agreed with me and I am happy that they have understood me.

There are many who criticize us and complain that this has not been done, that has not been done. I have all along told them and still I say, let us have some time and see what we have done and what we are doing.

To critics I want to say that since August 15 when we took charge, we have done an enormous amount of work. What about

the partition work, the smashing of the steel frame of bureaucracy, the division of assets and liabilities and the refugee problem? We called a meeting of the Constituent Assembly and settled with the States. I assure you that if so much burden had fallen all of a sudden on any Government's shoulder, it would have crashed. But we did not fail. As a matter of fact, the manner in which we have discharged our onerous duties has raised our prestige in the world.

Now two things are needed for the reconstruction of India—a strong Central Government and a formidable army. By army I mean all the branches—naval, air and land forces.

If the relation between Pakistan and Hindustan continues as at present, the consequences cannot be foreseen. I am not hiding anything but I am telling bare facts. I would not like anybody to throw dust into our eyes.

I appeal to the Hindu Mahasabhaitees to join the Congress. No good will be served by remaining aloof. If you think that you are the only custodians of Hinduism, you are mistaken. Hinduism preaches a broader outlook on life. There is much more of tolerance in Hinduism, than is interpreted.

I appeal to the R.S.S. to use their wisdom and work judiciously. I ask them not to be rash and tactless. Do not be aggressive.

Those who are disloyal will have to go to Pakistan. Those who are still riding on two horses, will have to quit Hindustan.

In the Congress those who are in power feel that by virtue of authority they will be able to crush the R.S.S. By "danda" you cannot suppress an organization. Moreover "danda" is meant for thieves and "dakus". Using of "danda" will not help much. After all, R.S.S. men are not thieves and dacoits. They are patriots. They love their country. Only their trend of thought is diverted. They are to be won over by Congressmen with love.

I appeal to Labour leaders not to foment strikes and create disturbances. There is no alien power. It is easy to approach us now. Why not Labour leaders come straight to us and tell about the grievances of Labour? The Trade Union Congress is working under the influence of Communists. The days of strike and hartal are gone. They were needed when we were fighting against a foreign Power. Those tactics must cease now.

Give us time at least. Let us have three or four years' truce and see what we do.

For a strong army, industries for the production of necessary material are needed. And if there is Labour unrest, a strong and formidable army cannot be built up.

At the last Industrial Conference the Labour leaders agreed with us but still there was a one-day strike in Bombay.

If we all proceed on these lines, India will meet a disastrous end. Unless you produce more, how will you share the profits? India is not an industrial country. She is to be industrialized first. This sort of foolishness will only put obstacles in the uplift of the country.

“ HE RAISED THE STATUS OF INDIA ”

To “ honour his previous commitment to go to Kathiawar ” the Deputy Prime Minister had to leave New Delhi in the middle of January. At Rajkot he addressed a public meeting on January 15. A few extracts from that speech are given below.

Rajkot,

January 15, 1948.

I ASK the States people to understand their responsibility and not to indulge in ruinous acts, such as taking possession of the palaces and buildings of the Rulers.

We should act with courtesy and politeness. Paramountcy has lapsed, and the Rulers have become free. The wiser among them have understood their duty. When the Rulers became independent their patriotism asserted itself. While they seem to understand their duty as Rulers, we do not understand our responsibility as people

My heart is full of agony because I had to leave Mahatma Gandhi while he was fasting. Nowadays some Hindus go out of their way in their speeches to speak ill of Gandhiji. I do not consider these people Hindus at all. If anybody has raised the status of India in the world, it is Gandhiji. The penance and purification of mind which he is able to undergo, we are unable to do. Yet they behave as if they have the monopoly of patriotism, reason and commonsense

I appeal to you to implement Gandhiji's programme. Now is the time for testing your bravery and courage. Gandhiji has got us independence by his penance. I will tell you how you can have Ram Rajya as contemplated by him. The first thing to do is to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. The second thing is removal of untouchability. The third thing is to attain self-sufficiency. We should make our own clothes. We should be self-sufficient in all other things as well. We should establish *gram panchayats* in villages. Preserve the best in your tradition and culture, and live for selfless devotion to your ideals. If you can do this you are sure to achieve your goal and establish Ram Rajya.



*Sardar Patel at an informal discussion with the
Deccan States Rulers at Bombay.*

“ ALL SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM’S ARMY ”

In reply to a civic address presented to him on January 16 by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on his first visit to Bombay since Independence, the Deputy Prime Minister referred to Gandhiji's fast which filled his heart with agony and took away what happiness he would otherwise have felt at the honour done to him by the citizens of Bombay.

He stressed the fact that Independence had been achieved though they had not got all they had aspired for. Peace had not followed Independence. It was a shame for us that Gandhiji had to fast today to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. To shout that Muslims should be removed from India was, he pointed out, the cry of anger and such shouts caused him worry and agony for the Government must act “as trustees of the entire population, irrespective of religion, caste or creed.”

He referred to the payment of 55 crores of rupees to Pakistan out of the cash balances, and revealed that it meant “some relief to Gandhiji's mental agony.”

He denounced industrial strikes and appealed for unity. “In a united India,” he said, “Muslims should feel as secure as the rest of the population.”

Bombay,
January 15, 1948.

I HAD accepted your kind invitation to receive an address from you in October, but owing to certain difficulties I could not come at the time. I again accepted it now but I have come to Bombay with an anguished heart. When I left Delhi, Gandhiji was fasting, but I had accepted some unavoidable commitments which I had to fulfil. My heart is full of grief even now and I am not as happy as I would have ordinarily been, at the honour that you have done me by presenting me this address.

In the course of your address you have mentioned some things which I have achieved and some which I have not, but there is one thing which I accept without reservation, viz., that I served Ahmedabad Municipality to the best of my capacity. I had unalloyed happiness in the tasks which I performed then. After all, to all of us, to serve your own city must give unmitigated pleasure and mental satisfaction which you cannot get in any other sphere.

Further to cleanse the dirt of the city is quite different from cleansing the dirt of politics. From the former you get a good night's rest while the latter keeps you worried and disturbed even at night.

Whatever else you have said is merely a proof of your love and I do not deserve your praise. You have mentioned about my having gone to jail several times. I was only one of the thousands who did so. We were all soldiers of freedom's army. I never realised that I was in prison. Actually it was the officers who watched us that felt that they were in prison. The only worry which afflicted us was what was happening outside. To tell you quite frankly, if as a result of what I have been doing at the Centre, I got imprisonment I would welcome it, because from experience I have found imprisonment is much sweeter.

As a result of our freedom's struggle we have succeeded in eliminating foreign domination. But all that we had aspired for has not been achieved. We had hoped to achieve peace by getting rid of foreign domination. Actuated by the same motives we accepted partition, but subsequent events presented a different shape of things. Our prestige went up when we secured independence, but subsequent events have brought it down. If in spite of having achieved independence Gandhiji has to fast today in order to achieve real Hindu-Muslim unity, it is a standing shame to us. In brief, our happiness at having won freedom has received a rude shock.

We have just now heard people shouting that Muslims should be removed from India. Those who do so have gone mad with anger. A lunatic is something better than a person who is mad with rage. One can be treated, and perhaps cured, but the other loses complete control of himself. They do not realise that they stand to gain nothing by driving out a handful of Muslims. At the same time, we have to sympathise with these people who have lost their dear ones and their valuables. I have just now come from Rajkot. Thousands are coming to Kathiawar deprived of everything that they possessed. Anger rules their heart and turns their minds completely. But we have to tolerate all this. At the same time, so long as we are in Government, we have to govern. If we cannot act as trustees for the entire population, irrespective of religion, caste or creed, we do not deserve to be where we are. Shouts like these cause me worry and agony. I frankly ask myself, "Are we to admit before the world that we are not fit to rule?"

All sorts of conjectures have been made about Gandhiji's fast. The truth is that, while there is peace in Delhi, as you have in Bombay or elsewhere in India, Gandhiji says that this is the peace maintained by force and does not represent the unity of the heart. Gandhiji speaks, thinks and acts on an eminence which we cannot



"So long as we are in Government we have to govern."

attain. We long to reach there, but we simply do not have the capacity to do so. He has reached a height where he is not swayed by anger or malice. He is full of love and affection. If we had such a pure heart as he has, we would have realised the difference. We cannot, therefore, govern as he would like us to do. Instead, we have to maintain the police and a strong army. The guilty have to be punished and wrongdoers have to be censured. Those who indulge in such shoutings must, therefore, realise what the consequences of breaking the law would be.

I am a frank man. I say bitter things to Hindus and Muslims alike. At the same time, I maintain, as I have said a number of times, that I am a friend of Muslims. If Muslims do not accept me as such, they also act like mad men. They do not seem to understand the right or the wrong. But, for their attitude, I cannot forsake truth. I cannot descend from the pedestal of duty. Some of them went to Gandhiji and complained about my Lucknow speech in which I had criticised them for not condemning Pakistan's attitude to Kashmir. They went and told Gandhiji many things and Gandhiji felt compelled to defend me. That also pained me, for after all, I am not a weak person who should be defended by others.

You have referred to what we have been able to achieve, but I want you to realise that what we have achieved is incomplete. The real task is still in front of us, namely, the planning of the shape of things in the future in this country. Opportunities for doing so have come, but we do not seem to realise it. If we did so, we would not be acting in the manner in which we are doing at present.

The supreme task of the moment is to live up to the real spirit of what you have recounted in the address. It is in that spirit that we have decided to hand over Rs. 55 crores which we had agreed to allocate to Pakistan out of our cash balances. I can assure you that when we settled this sum we acted in a spirit of generosity and goodwill. The Financial Adviser of the Pakistan Government admitted that the settlement was generous; the *London Economist* was also of the same view. I made it clear then that not on any single item would I go before the Tribunal, but at the same time, I emphasised that the whole agreement would be implemented simultaneously with the settlement on other issues. I could never have agreed to the proposition that all gains were theirs and losses ours. They, however, claimed it in isolation. We all decided that this was entirely wrong, and it should be resisted. Pakistan papers and spokesmen, when they heard of it, emitted poison. When Gandhiji undertook the fast, we thought we could clear the atmosphere. For, after all, when we are throwing money like water, why should we cavil at the payment of

Rs. 55 crores if it meant some relief to Gandhiji's mental agony? We hope it will evoke some response from Pakistan. But if it does not, the fault is of our fate. It is true we have to take the people with us. But we have also to think of Gandhiji. We take a short-range view, while he takes a long-range one.

To all outward appearance, there is peace in Bombay City, but it is not the peace which existed here ten years ago, when the poison that has spread during the last seven years had not spoiled the atmosphere. When that peace will return, we do not know. We should, however, make efforts to that end. If we fail, we can only curse our stars. For it would be a misfortune of India.

Nevertheless, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that we have achieved something by making India more united today than it was at any time during the past several centuries. We should unite more, but that requires a determined effort. In such united India, Muslims should feel as secure as the rest of the population. For this, however, Muslims will have also to change their outlook. They must forget the lesson which has been taught to them of the two-nation theory. We have to create an atmosphere in which Pakistan can go the way it likes, and India can follow its own course. In creating this atmosphere, Bombay must play a leading part. You are distant from the scene of misery, privation and devastation. The bloodshed in Pakistan flows down to Delhi, and turns people's mind. Here you can take a detached view. The nation's leader, Jawaharlal, has during the last few months, aged by ten years. He is indescribably worried and anguished. I appeal to you to reflect on what is happening. Here you have token strikes merely to test leadership. Why should they have recourse to it? We can give them in writing that they are the leaders. If we cannot set our own house in order, we can never achieve the destiny of this country. There was a time when India's message had gone to other countries. Gandhiji re-enacted those scenes when he sent out the message of *ahimsa*, but now we seem to have fallen on different ways. We have to get out of this mess.

You have also referred to the needs of your Corporation and the scheme of Greater Bombay. You have asked for Central assistance. But you should realize that the Central Government is not foreign to you. It is your own. Bombay contributes to the Centre. You get your own money back. I realise that Bombay has to bear the burden, but Bombay occupies a pre-eminent position. It is the centre of political activity. India looks to Bombay for assistance. You have reversed the process and wish now to look to the Centre for help. How can we resolve this conundrum? If we assist one city, others will claim similar assistance. Bombay is only one city, but India is yours. We cannot live on the capital accumulated by our predecessors. We must

increase our income. We cannot for ever subsist on the reputation of our giants of the past like Sir Phirozshah Mehta and Sir Dinshah Wacha. The old days, when they ruled the city, are no more. Those days people were easily satisfied. Now they are in a perennial state of unrest. You have, therefore, to suffer criticism. But Bombay is fortunate that it has maintained its reputation, is proud of its achievement and jealously guards its interests. You should trade in those valuable commodities. Let the city be in the forefront of the cities of the world.

I had been to Calcutta. There I pointed out that the premier city of India did not deserve to be the dirtiest. But nobody dare amend the Corporation Act without which any improvement is impossible. Here you have a Constitution given by those old giants which has stood the test of time and proved to be an invaluable guide. You have now given franchise to all adults. Some are apprehensive, but you can take your voters with you by demonstrating your spirit of service and presenting them with solid achievements.

I once again thank you for your kindness in presenting me with this address and I assure you that I will always value this token of your affection and regard.

“ AWAKEN THE CONSCIENCE ”

One of the ugliest aspects of the Punjab disturbances in August, 1947 and after, was the large number of abducted women whose rescue is a great responsibility of the Government and the people. The appeal broadcast from New Delhi by the Deputy Prime Minister on February 18, 1948, pleaded for active popular help in the task of rescuing these unfortunate women.

New Delhi,

February 18, 1948.

I AM taking this opportunity of adding a few words to the powerful appeals which have already been made on behalf of the thousands of distressed women. During the recent disturbances which overspread both West and East Punjab and the Frontier and enmeshed a part of the beautiful Kashmir Valley and Jammu province, nothing has degraded us more than the foul crimes and barbarities which have been inflicted on innocent women and children who have been forcibly torn from their kith and kin and subjected to most inhuman indignities and violence. Even the law of the jungle does not countenance such insensate wrongs ; these are completely alien to the traditions of any society and civilization. There should be no place, therefore, in this world for wrong doers of this type and it behoves us all to see that such transgressions of civilized conduct are put down with a strong and firm hand.

When I think of the sorrowful plight and miserable sufferings of these mothers and sisters, my heart fills with distress and grief. Women of education and breeding, many of whom had been nourished in the lap of luxury ; all had led a peaceful and sheltered existence with those with whom they had ties of blood and affection ; many were valuable treasures of poor men's houses, which are now left desolate and ruined—all these have been uprooted from their natural surroundings and placed by the cruel hands of frenzied criminals into conditions of existence which shame humanity and all the virtues and qualities which go to make God's own creature—man.

To rescue them from these living conditions and restore them to their original environments is, therefore, an essential mission if

men's reputation is to be rehabilitated as that of human beings. Failure in this mission would mean that we are not fit to face the bar of human history and must go down to the future ages as those who degraded humanity to depths lower than those of beasts.

Those who have braved adversity and challenged obstructions and obstacles in this noble undertaking have deserved well of the nation and humanity whose cause they have tried to uphold. The results they have achieved may appear slight when compared to the dimensions of the problem, but if we consider how much concentrated effort, public zeal, and patience and grit have been expended on the achievement of these results, we would be able to appreciate not only what has been done, but also what requires to be done to salvage these treasures from the wrecks of human civilization.

It is obvious that an enterprise of such gigantic proportions cannot be successfully accomplished if we do not have both popular and official support. Such support must therefore, be given by the Government and the people in both India and Pakistan. To withhold it would be contrary not only to solemn undertakings entered into by both the Governments, but also to all laws of social existence and codes of honour.

We have also to awaken the conscience of those who have perpetrated these wrongs or who have now acquired possession of these women as though they were goods and chattels for sale or articles of prize and booty. I would appeal to them to realize their error and to reflect what stakes are involved in their persistence in the wrong course which they have adopted. Neither the sacred name of religion which might have been invoked by them in perpetrating these wrongs, nor the desire for vengeance, retaliation or plunder which might have actuated them can ever be pleaded in extenuation of the enormity of their misdeeds. Only repentance and restoration of the wrongs committed can bring them back into the fold of normal human beings.

This is, therefore, their opportunity for reclamation. Let them listen to the voice of their own conscience, to the injunctions of their own religion, to the rules of their own society, to the principles of their own existence and to the codes of honour and chivalry. Let them reflect on how they themselves would have felt if their own womenfolk had to share the fate which, through their instrumentality, has befallen these innocent victims of human folly and lust. I have no doubt that if they bestow a moment's thought to these considerations, they will themselves realize the errors of their ways and offer to facilitate the task of all those who are engaged in this mission of rescue and succour.

I should also like to add a word for those unfortunate and grief-stricken relations who have lost their mothers, wives and

sisters. I can well imagine what torments affect their minds and what agony afflicts their hearts. I also know that many are facing and are prepared to face perils of all kind to get back their dear ones. I have not come across any who is not anxious to claim them back into his home. I would advise them not to lose heart but to persist in their efforts to trace them. After all, where so many thousands are involved, it is impossible for official agencies alone to discover or follow the track. Individual or collective non-official effort, backed by official support, would probably achieve much more than mere official action. I hope, therefore, that neither disappointments nor temporary set-backs will damp their ardour and that they will pursue their task with doggedness and determination.

To the grief-stricken women themselves, I should like to send a message of sympathy and comfort. Their misery and plight have stirred our hearts. They are constantly in our thoughts. Whenever we can get at them, we will do so. They need be in no doubt either of the genuineness of the anxiety of their relations to claim them back or the zeal and intensity of the efforts to rescue them. I realise what cups of bitterness and miseries they must be drinking every minute or hour of their life, but patience and faith have moved mountains and melted the coldest hearts. Let them, therefore, persist in both, and I am sure they will invoke God's blessings for the success of their rescuers and awaken the conscience of the wrongdoers.

ON INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

“PRODUCE AND DISTRIBUTE EQUITABLY”

This speech was delivered on January 5, 1948, at a luncheon given in the Deputy Prime Minister's honour, at the Calcutta Club by Shri Badridas Goenka.

*Calcutta,
January 5, 1948.*

I AM most grateful to you for the opportunity that you have given me of meeting you all and understanding your respective points of view. You know very well that I do not generally go to such functions ; nor am I used to them. It is not our country's custom to have speeches at lunches or dinners, but we are still carrying on the old traditions, and I am, therefore, utilising this opportunity of placing before you a few thoughts on matters which are causing you some concern. Whatever I may say represents my own personal views and not those of Government. It is only the Minister in charge of Industry and Supply who can make any authoritative pronouncement, but I do claim to know the mind of my Government and to that extent I may at places be saying things which are in accord with Government policy. I should like to say this at the outset that I am going to tell you what I do feel about matters. I am not given to changing my views because I form them after mature consideration and the fullest possible realization of the various pros and cons. My convictions are firm and based not on any theories but on experience and a practical approach to the many problems.

Shri Badridas Goenka has mentioned the last Budget. It is profitless to think of the past. Nevertheless the world knows its history : how the Budget was prepared and why. The framer of the Budget has now gone to Pakistan. He very well knew that it would be not for him to face the music. You are also probably aware of my views and the whole history of the proceedings before the Legislature in relation to this Budget. When I ask you to bury the past and not to bother at all about it, I should also like to remind you that our Finance Minister belongs to your own class. He knows his own mind, is able, clever and efficient. We deliberately appointed him to create confidence in the industrial

Sardar Patel at a party in his honour at the Calcutta Club.



future of India, the confidence which had been rudely shaken by the last Budget. Our Commerce Minister is also an experienced industrialist. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Minister for Industry and Supply, is not a Congressman, but an able, painstaking and conscientious public servant. I am quite certain that all these Ministers would like to secure your co-operation in making India industrially great. You will also see from this that the Cabinet represents the various sections of India's political life. All the Ministers are popular representatives. They represent you as much as they represent the poor. You should, therefore, disabuse yourself of any impression that the Cabinet is in any way hostile to your interests. We all realise that no country can prosper without industry; nor can labour in the modern sense survive without industry. We have a vast country with enormous potentialities. We have to see how we all can function effectively in its interests. We have given you as first evidence of our *bona fides* the appointments to which I have already referred. It is now for you and all of us not to mar but to make our future. In building it, it is obvious that you have to destroy also. In the process of building our future, therefore, we may have to do away with some of the appendages of the past. But there is no reason why any of us should be frightened of destruction.

You have asked why we accepted partition. It is a long story, but you should be able to appreciate matters better because Calcutta had tasted the bitter experience of the League Ministry. Businessmen thought of leaving the City, but I advised them to stay on because I was certain that no power on earth could take away Calcutta from India. Although, therefore, we all have to suffer the blow and shock of partition, if we are able to extract good out of evil I have no doubt that we shall eventually profit and not lose in the transaction. We have now to settle down to the task of reconstruction. In the last few months we have had to shoulder a burden that would have broken the back of any Government, but we have, I feel confident, been able to acquit ourselves creditably in dealing with this critical time. In the task ahead we have to take labour and capital with us. If we fail to do so, we are doomed to disappointment. I have no doubt whatsoever that the conflict between labour and capital, and may I say, also the Government at this stage would be nothing but ruinous to the country. We have just now finished one chapter of exploitation. We should see that we do not find ourselves entering into another chapter in which we are exploited by a different type of forces which nevertheless are destructive and even more dangerous because they are internal. We must remember that Socialism in England came after England had advanced considerably on the road to industrialisation. I am convinced that any promotion of a conflict between labour and

capital at this stage would deal a disastrous blow to India's industrial future. But that does not mean that Government would submit to the exploitation of labour. It will secure for labour its just share by the only civilised method of doing so, namely, arbitration. Arbitration had shown the way in Ahmedabad. There is no reason why it should not be successful elsewhere. After all democracy can never rule by force. It can only rule by the consent of the people. That consent, if forced, can only have adverse reactions. You have also asked for a clarification of our policy regarding nationalisation. The policy of the Government of India in regard to nationalisation will take sometime to shape. The cry of nationalisation is being entered into merely to cause panic. If you get panicky, you fall into the trap. You should yourself realise that industry is to be established before it can be nationalised. India is yet industrially in an infant stage. In England they have a Labour Government but despite the fact that they are so much industrially advanced they are not going ahead with nationalisation at any rapid pace. The result is that the Labour Government does not have to shoot people in order to maintain industrial peace and keep up the pace of production. By joint efforts of labour and capital and Government, production is being increased. On the other hand in India we seem to believe in the miracle that labour should produce less and get more money. The result is strikes which retard production. Less production means more misery and privations. We have got to break this vicious circle. Take for instance the coal industry. There is demand for more coal for our industrial as well as domestic consumption. In order to encourage labour to produce more we gave generous terms, but labour was given instructions to slow down. As regards wagons—in the bottleneck of transport, both Railways and Industry have to join hands to get over this obstacle.

You have also referred to the question of control. We realised that in the prevailing circumstances control had to be removed, but none dared to take the step. We then felt we must have an impartial survey. A committee was appointed which recommended decontrol. But the representatives of the Services were against it. We then thought over the matter afresh and came to the decision that controls must ultimately go. If transport is such a bottleneck as you say it is, I would advise the Minister to have a similar enquiry by a Board, but I can assure you that whatever can be done to mend matters will be done both in this and other matters. I wish also to assure you that Government knows that it must take you with it if it is to succeed in its aim of increased production.

Regarding strikes, I feel that it is deplorable that they have been made so cheap. They are now props of leadership of labour and have ceased to be a legitimate means of redressing grievances

of labour. In Ahmedabad we had resorted to arbitration with the result that both labour and employers had prospered to the advantage both of the city and the country at large. The maxim should be "produce and then distribute equitably". Instead they fight before even producing wealth. It is to restore sanity and a fair deal between labour and employers and to give a correct lead to labour that we set up the Indian National Trade Union Congress. But then some industrialists themselves do not realize wherein their good lies and purchase peace by submitting to the blackmail of communists. It is clear that such peace can only be short-lived. Labour is not being properly led and must be rescued. It is a matter of patience and sympathy. Firmness in dealing with labour agitators and in restoring discipline among labour ranks is indisputably necessary. If we cannot be firm, we might cease to govern. Government cannot allow intimidators to function with immunity. All the three parties, Labour, Capital and Government, have common interests and common outlook in many a field. We must act with mutual consultation. All of us must have courage to face facts and deal with them in a practical way. Hesitancy is out of place; boldness is clearly indicated. But at the same time you should show understanding and sympathy to those whom you utilise as the means of production. It is only then that you can win labour round. You should educate labour into correct ways of conduct. Public opinion can never be won by following the path of least resistance.

“ LABOUR IS AT THE CROSSROADS ”

On January 20, 1948, Sardar Patel addressed a Workers' meeting at the Kamgar Maidan, Parel, Bombay, expressing his relief that there was a marked improvement in the communal situation. He asked the workers to spare no pains to make the nation happy and prosperous.

*Bombay,
January 20, 1948.*

I WAS anxious for a long time to come to Bombay, but there were so many problems to tackle that I was not able to do so till four days ago. Bombay has always a soft corner in my heart because it has given the lead to the rest of India for many decades and I hope it will continue to do so.

The recent disturbances after partition caused worry, but I am glad that now there is marked improvement in the communal situation and peace has been established. Now that the country has achieved freedom, it is in our hands to make or mar our future ; and, therefore, every effort should be made to make the nation happy and prosperous so that it might uplift itself and also rise in the estimation of the world.

The future depends on whether we step up production of food, cloth, iron, steel, cement and other essential articles both for the civil population and defence needs. This is necessary not only for banishing hunger and disease from the country but also for consolidating the freedom which we have won after so many years of struggle.

Labour is today at the crossroads ; if they take the right road and contribute all their energies to strengthen the country, India will have a glorious future ; but if they are misled and take the wrong road, they will go down into the ditch and it will lead everyone, labourer as well as all others to destruction and ruin.

The workers should remember that they do not work only for their maintenance. They are not animals who are driven by the whip. They should realize their important role in the country and ask themselves what they are working for. On their efficiency and hard work depends the greatness of the country. They should

realize the effects of their action on crores of semi-starved and meagrely clothed countrymen in the villages. It is the workers' duty to think of them. Nothing should be done to harm their interests.

When the Socialist young men called for a token strike, the result was a tremendous loss in wages and production. To an average worker, it meant a day's holiday and the loss of one day's wage. But did they realize the collective losses in wages, the lakhs of yards of cloth which remained unproduced and the loss of much-needed essential goods? There is already acute scarcity of rationed cloth and what can be gained by reducing it further? True leadership lies in convincing labour to stand by the nation and deliver the goods and not in destructive efforts to assert their leadership.

The recent three-year industrial truce agreed upon in Delhi was meant for undertaking an all-out industrial drive for making India strong and prosperous. Pandit Nehru's fervent broadcast appeal the previous day also called upon them to avoid strikes at all costs. The Port Trust Workers' strike in Bombay is an illustration of the utter futility of such strikes prompted by reckless leadership. It was holding up food imports which were urgently needed to avert hunger in many parts of the country and of lakhs of refugees pouring in from the Punjab and Sind. This was Government work where the profit-motive was not involved, unlike in the case of private enterprise. Consequently, in the interests of our own people, army units had to be employed and the full responsibility for unemployment of these labourers rested squarely on irresponsible leaders.

The workers must keep always before them the interests of crores of our countrymen and throw off the destructive leadership and muster strong to support the best interests of the country. . . .

If the Socialists are bent upon snatching the leadership, there is no objection to handing it over to them. After all our mission has been accomplished. We do not want to hand over a ruined concern but a going concern for constructive progress, not for wrecking the future of the country. The Socialists threaten to break away from the Congress. The doors are open. But I would urge them not to mar the progress of the young nation which has after all got the rare opportunity to mould itself according to its dreams and desires after many hundreds of years.

I would repeatedly like to persuade you to keep away from this strike fever since "produce or perish" is the crucial question facing us at this juncture. Otherwise you would yourselves stand to suffer the consequences. The freedom that we have secured is for regenerating the country and not for bringing it down. Tremendous natural resources lie hidden under our soil. Why not exploit

them to the best advantage? Why not increase production in cloth, steel, cement, etc., and solve the housing and other acute problems? Why not produce more coal and other essential goods so that India may be great and strong and none dare challenge her security? Why not be self-sufficient in vital goods now imported at tremendous cost? If there is surplus production it can be exported to make the nation prosperous.

I, therefore, advise you that if you want more wages you should increase productivity and step up production. There is really no difference of opinion between the Congress and the Socialists over policy and programme as was illustrated at the last A.I.C.C. meeting. Why then all these disruptive and disintegrating activities? I would, therefore, request the Socialists to join hands with the Congress in formulating a five-year programme and carrying it out in a constructive spirit to make the nation strong. The country needs two things, firstly, peace on the basis of Hindu-Muslim amity and, secondly, consolidation as was exemplified by the merger of States.

When I say bitter things to industrialists, Socialists and Labour, it is not my intention to hurt their feelings, but there is a fire raging in my heart which I want to impart to them. I am speaking to them so bluntly because I have their interests at heart; and I ask you not to be misled by the sweet words of those who are really your enemies. The proposed labour rally was intended to show the backing of ten lakh workers behind the Port Trust, but I would like you to remember that this rare opportunity of creating a strong and happy India is fast passing from their hands.

Bombay should see that there is no strike during the period of industrial truce for the next three years and that production goes on full steam ahead. If there is any grievance it should be carried to the Government which is their own and I am sure it would be satisfactorily solved. I myself am all for your getting the legitimate fruits of your labour. The Congress stands by them. Where then is the need for strikes, 'go slow' tactics or stoppage of work?

“ NEED FOR PEACE ”

On January 22, 1948, in reply to an address presented to him by 87 leading Associations and Mahajans of Ahmedabad, Sardar Patel emphasized the need for industrial and communal peace in the country. He referred to the relation between Labour and Capital, as represented by the Textile Labour Association and the Millowners' Association in Ahmedabad as unique, the credit for which belongs to Mahatma Gandhi.

Here are some extracts from Sardar Patel's speech.

Ahmedabad,

January 22, 1948.

THE need for industrial and communal peace in the country is imperative. Peace is necessary for stabilizing the newly won freedom and for leading the country on the road to progress and prosperity.

Whatever qualities I have were derived from Mahatma Gandhi.

With the achievement of freedom, the days of jail going and shooting and lathi charges are over. There is no longer any need to adopt those methods to coerce the Government, which is yours and which you can change, if you so desire.

The various associations of Ahmedabad including the Mill-owners Association and the Textile Labour Association, are noted for their shrewd practical commonsense. The relations between Labour and Capital, as represented by the Textile Labour Association and the Millowners Association are unique in the whole country, and credit for that achievement should go to Mahatma Gandhi. There have been the least number of strikes in the city owing to the machinery of arbitration evolved by Mahatma Gandhi. Even the members of the Maskati market, an organization of cloth merchants, settled the dispute of its members without going to a court of law. Workers should not fall a prey to the ways of agitators who use strikes to achieve their own selfish ends.

As regards the gradual withdrawal of all controls imposed by the previous Government, the Government of India seeks the co-operation of merchants in loosening the economic grip of foreign

countries over India. They should place the interests of the country before their own self.

It is not the intention of the Government to enter the field of business and trade. It is the sole preserve of the business and commercial community. The reputation of the mercantile community of India has been lowered in the estimation of the ordinary people. They must endeavour to restore their good name.

I appeal to Labour and Capital to honour the industrial truce recently reached at the Delhi Conference. The truce does not mean there would be no justice done to labour, if it has a legitimate grievance. They should seek arbitration without resort to strikes. If they failed to produce enough to meet the needs of the country, they would not be able to keep pace with the progressive nations of the world.

I regret that, after we have won freedom from foreign rule, the country is not as happy and prosperous as we hoped her to be. Unforeseen problems confront us and we are engaged in solving them. Any other Government in a similar plight would have collapsed.

MISCELLANEOUS

“ FIRST THINGS FIRST ”

Addressing a mass meeting held on August 11, 1947, in connection with the Liberty Week Celebrations in Delhi, Sardar Patel explained that in the circumstances then prevalent in the country, “ partition on the present pattern was the best thing possible.” He expressed the hope, however, that the seceding portion would, in the long run, be disillusioned and ultimate unity was assured, for, “ what nature and God intended to be one can on no account be split into two for all time.”

New Delhi,

August 11, 1947.

OUR first task is to stabilize, consolidate and strengthen ourselves and the rest can have only a secondary priority. My colleagues and I have not agreed to the partition of the country either because of fear or out of a sense of defeat. Under the prevailing conditions in the country partition on the present pattern was the best thing possible and I have no qualms about it. In a matter of weeks we have divided the country, the Army, the Services, etc., and this indeed has been a colossal task.

I, however, strongly believe that those who have seceded today will be disillusioned soon and their union with the rest of India is assured. What nature and God had intended to be one can on no account be split in two for all time.

I appeal to you to rub out from your minds the memories of the past two years, deem it as a terrible nightmare and forget it, and to look forward with single-minded purpose to make India strong, prosperous and happy. This can only be done by hard work. A Socialist Government in Britain is calling upon the workers to sweat an hour more a day and the strange contrast here is that our Socialists and others preach strikes and encourage wage-boosts. This can only result in printing more notes at Nasik and end up in serious trouble.

I welcome Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's latest statement and am happy that the minorities in Pakistan would be protected and their rights safeguarded. Such a generous move by the League cannot but evoke reciprocity here in India.

I am sure that all the Indian States will join the Indian Union and none can afford to keep out and live in isolation. First things should be done first and the first job is to get the States to accede to and consolidate the Union. The demand of the people in the States for a democratic regime raises an entirely different issue. I cannot see how an Indian Ruler can exist with his subjects in hostility and clamouring for popular government.

The Congress was pledged to rid the country of foreign domination and after making considerable sacrifices and prolonged suffering it has succeeded. But the Congress has also worked for a united India and a union of all the communities and unfortunately it cannot claim any success here. This has been due to factors beyond our control. Our joy on August 15 would have been fuller and greater, had not India been divided ; but this is not to be for the present.

I would make no efforts to explain away the responsibility of the Congress to divide the country. We took these extreme steps after great deliberation. In spite of my previous strong opposition to partition, I agreed to it because I felt I was convinced that in order to keep India united, it must be divided now.

My experience in office during the past year showed that it was impossible to do anything constructive with the Muslim League in. The League representatives during their continuance in office did nothing but create deadlocks and their role was entirely an obstructionist one. Besides, as I have already once said, I found that the Muslims, save for a few exceptions, engaged in all capacities in the Government were with the Muslim League. Thus the rot had set in and it could not be permitted to prolong any longer except at the risk of a disaster for the whole country. Indeed at one stage—and it obtains even now to some degree—things had become so bad that with the killing at Calcutta, riots spread all over and it became a perilous adventure for Hindus and Muslims to visit one another's localities. The economic life of the country was paralysed and there was little security of life or property.

The only way out of the sickening situation, the Congress realized, lay in the elimination of the third party, the British Power. The British, on their part, declared that they would quit by June 1948. But the period was long. Also their statement promising to hand over power to the authorities in the provinces gave rise to a vigorous effort to dislodge the Ministries in Assam, the Punjab and the Frontier. The League succeeded in the Punjab. Even though they failed in the Frontier and Assam, the League movement caused great misery and bloodshed.

In order to settle the issue immediately and prevent the slaughter of innocent people, the Congress decided to agree to the division of the country and demanded the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. This was no surrender to the League threats or policy of appeasement.

Today the partition of India is a settled fact and yet it is an unreal fact. The partition, I hope, however, removes the poison from the body politic of India. This, I am sure, would result in the seceding areas desiring to reunite with the rest of India.

India is one and indivisible. One cannot divide the sea or split the running waters of a river. The Muslims have their roots in India. Their sacred places and their cultural centres are located here in India. I do not know what they can do in Pakistan and it will not be long before they begin to return.

Most of the opposition to the Congress in this partition came from quarters which had never in the past given evidence of any strength. Despite the division, it must be remembered, we have eighty per cent of the country with us which is a compact unit with great possibilities. Twenty per cent has gone over to Pakistan and I wish that State all success and prosperity.

I wish them to be strong because then alone there can be friendly relations and amity between the two States. There can be no friendship between a strong unit and a weakling. India harbours no ill-will against Pakistan and will in fact, do all in her power to help the new State.

The main task before India today is to consolidate herself into a well-knit and united power. The obstacle of foreign domination is now gone but there are serious problems that confront us. Economically India is in a sad plight. The war has resulted in making India a creditor nation but that does not mean much. United Kingdom is our debtor and owes us a huge amount but she does not appear to have anything to pay us now. In fact the Big Powers have so arranged their economies that smaller and poorer countries remain at a disadvantage.

The Socialists in India are always talking of a Socialist Republic. Instead of restricting their activities to mere agitation I would ask them to take over the administration of one province and solve the problems which have arisen in the wake of a prolonged war.

In contrast to their counterparts in Great Britain, the Indian Socialists are pursuing an opposite course. Strikes are encouraged and higher wages demanded. If there is no water in the well none can draw any to drink. By all means let them take away the wealth of a few rich in the country but to what extent would this afford any relief to the poor—the teeming millions?

The need of the hour is to increase the wealth of the country and this can be done only by putting in more and more work and thus increasing production. This requires the maintenance of peace in the country. For one year now there has been disorder in the country. Now that Pakistan has been established there is no more fight between Hindus and Muslims. If, unfortunately, there should be a recurrence of this internal strife, it would not be the cowardly killings of innocent people but would be between two armies of the two States.

I appeal to the people not to indulge in mutual strife but to create a calm atmosphere and engage yourselves in constructive activities which are essential for the building up of a new India.

As regards the States question, the co-operation of all the Rulers is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the Indian Union. When the foreign power has been eliminated the Princes will have to adjust themselves to the new democratic order. The days of those Rulers who do not command the confidence of their subjects are numbered. The majority of the States have acceded to the Union and I appeal to the rest to join the Union before August 15. States which do not come in now but may decide to join at a later date would have to accede on different terms. These days no State can afford to live in isolation.

I ask the people to exercise reserve in judging the role of the Princes at the present juncture. The Rulers have not been free up till now and many of them do not even now believe that Paramountcy is lapsing on August 15. Many of them being descendants of great and benevolent Rulers of the past ages, I have no doubt that they would not hesitate in pursuing a correct policy and become popular Rulers.

Our problems are mainly domestic. Ever since I was released from prison I have been saying that imperialism is on its last legs not only in India but in all Asia. The British are quitting India and I think that Dutch imperialism will meet its end in Indonesia.

There cannot be in the future any more separate electorates or weightages and special treatment. Every community must get what is its due but if a community which forms fifteen per cent of the population has sixty per cent representation, say, in the Police Department, it undoubtedly creates a problem.

As regards the agitation for cow protection, I agree with the demand but I ask why no such agitation was sponsored in the past. In countries where cows enjoy no legal protection they are looked after much better and yield more milk. But at a time when the Government are faced with the problem of protecting human beings the question of protecting cows cannot have priority. I deprecate attempts which are supposed to unite the country but in fact divide

the Hindus. Nobody today, except the Congress, can undertake the task of uniting the country.

India has nothing but goodwill towards all but if her safety is endangered she must have the strength to defend herself, and for this people must work.

“ SINCERE SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA ”

The External Services Division of the All-India Radio started from October 12, a news broadcast to Indonesia. In a message for the occasion, Sardar Patel, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, referred to India's cultural links with Indonesia which date back to remote times.

New Delhi,

October 12, 1947.

INDIA's link with Indonesia dates back to remote times. Indonesia, even to this day, enshrines some of the cultural relics of ages in which our contact with Indonesia was close and intimate. Centuries of alien rule could not sever these bonds of friendship and culture, nor dim the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the two countries to come closer together. This service, therefore, creates no new bonds, but merely revives and rejuvenates the old ones. I have every confidence that this ethereal link will draw us closer together in the common and arduous tasks that await us.

After years of heroic struggles, India has attained her full independence. Indonesia is still in the grip of foreign rule and we, who have known the agony and anguish of slavery, naturally turn with a feeling and sympathetic heart to Indonesia in the valiant struggle, which she is waging to shake off the foreign yoke. India knows that there can be no real freedom for her so long as there are manacles round Indonesia's wrists. We, therefore, send to you, Indonesians, the most sincere assurance of our support in your struggle for emancipation.

We assure you that we approach this venture purely from a spirit of service. All-India Radio will broadcast to you news without bias and without selfish motive. The Indonesian service will foster peace and amity and will rediscover things of common interest to the two countries. No propaganda or tendentiousness shall taint it. These broadcasts shall be a symbol of the spirit of resurgence which pervades the people of Asia today. I wish the service god-speed.

“ REAL SWARAJ YET TO BE ACHIEVED ”

During his visit to Cuttack in connection with the States problem, Sardar Patel addressed a crowded meeting of Congress, Praja Mandal and Student Workers on December 15, in which he emphasized the fact that now that Independence had been achieved they must maintain peace and take to constructive work. The students, he said, should spread education and work for village uplift. A few extracts from the speech are given below.

*Cuttack,
December 15, 1947.*

You must realize the need to carry on with vigour constructive work such as removal of untouchability, fostering communal unity, khadi and prohibition.

I congratulate the workers of Orissa for maintaining communal amity. Selfless and disinterested work is needed for the uplift of the province and the country in general.

Independence has been won but this independence is only in relation to foreign domination. Real Swaraj is yet to be achieved, Swaraj which will usher in complete success in constructive spheres which I have detailed

In my talks with the Rulers I have argued with them in an attempt to make them see unmistakably which way their good lies. Smaller States have shown the way and set an example for their bigger brothers. Many of the major States are still hesitant, but I have no doubt that they will see wisdom soon. The times have changed and these are days of democracy. The Rulers must move with the times.

I appeal to the people of Orissa to continue to maintain peace which they have admirably done so far. I deplore the recent events in Calcutta. They are a discredit not only to the Congress but to the country as a whole. The Ministry there is a popular Ministry chosen by the people. Any attempt at Satyagraha against the Ministry is tantamount to *Duragraha*

The people of Orissa have a bright future and a great opportunity for plenty of constructive work. The tasks that lie ahead of them include vast programmes of development consisting of the

construction of a new capital and the Mahanadi project. In both these endeavours, the resources of the Central Government will be at the disposal of the people of Orissa.

To the students I say, "The battle of freedom in which we wanted your help has been won. You should now devote yourself to the completion of your own education. If you still have some leisure, you should devote it to the cause of adult education and spread light to the illiterate masses. You can also work for village uplift. Now that the reins of the Government are in the hands of your own people, you need not worry about politics."

“ LIVE UP TO YOUR DHARMA ”

The Deputy Prime Minister, accompanied by the Governor of Assam, visited the Headquarters of the Assam Regiment at Shillong on the morning of January 2, 1948.

Addressing the officers and men who took part in the parade held in his honour, the Deputy Prime Minister recalled how they had “ enhanced the reputation of Indians as good fighters ” in the past. Now India was free and the responsibility of the Army in Free India was great. He expressed his confidence that they would live up to their Dharma and live and die for their country.

Later in the day, speaking over a cup of tea in the Regiment Club, Shillong, he dwelt on the heavy responsibility that devolved upon the army as it was being completely nationalized. He referred also to the non-violent fight the Congress had waged under Mahatma Gandhi’s leadership and hoped that between the Civil and the Military they would make all efforts to maintain and consolidate this hard-won freedom.

On the same day, he addressed a large gathering of the citizens of Shillong and neighbouring areas. He referred to the separation of Sylhet and post-August disturbances elsewhere and also to Kashmir and Hyderabad. He invited co-operation in the task of rehabilitation of refugees and warned the audience to avoid “ provincial parochialism.” He stressed unity and urged the young men not to talk Socialism but to ask themselves how much wealth they had produced by their own labour.

In conclusion he referred to the natural beauties of the province and exhorted the people to create in Assam a model for the rest of India.

*Shillong,
January 2, 1948.*

I AM very glad to meet you today. Hitherto you have served under foreign rulers. Even then you enhanced the reputation of Indians as good fighters. You fought gallantly in the last war and won high praise. You did honour to India. Now India is free. You have your own Government. You have your own people as Governors and Ministers. Freedom has brought responsibilities in its wake. A great responsibility thus rests on your shoulders. We have not the slightest doubt that you will prove yourself worthy of it.



*Sardar Patel at the Khasi States Peoples' Conference
during his visit to Assam.*

The first and the foremost duty of a soldier is to live and die for his country. It is his *dharma*. I am confident, nay, sure that you will live up to your *dharma*. You have to maintain internal and external security of India. You have to guard the borders of India. You have to carry out the orders given to you with the utmost despatch and efficiency. You are not to observe distinctions of caste and creed. You are Indians first and Indians last.

I am sure you will not do anything now which will be unworthy of your traditions. You are the servants of India and it should be your sacred duty and privilege to serve India, your motherland, with all your heart. Duty must come above everything.

“ THE ROLE OF THE ARMY ”

*Shillong,
January 2, 1948.*

It has given me great pleasure to meet you today. The world has today shrunk and become very small. Day before yesterday I was in Delhi. We left Delhi at 8 a.m. and reached Gauhati at 2 p.m. One can reach England in a day and America in two days. India too has shrunk likewise.

But she is free today. Freedom has brought responsibilities unfortunately mixed with troubles in its wake. But that does not matter. We remain undaunted by troubles. A transitional period is always critical in the life of a people. Nobody should feel worried about it. Our country has been divided. Our conception of division was as between two brothers who could not live together.

Ours is a big country. We have to make strenuous efforts to make it a compact unit. There are small states, there are Tribal Areas and there are Excluded Areas. All this makes our task complex and difficult. Nevertheless we have to solve all these problems so that we may become a strong and united people capable of competing with any nation and any country in the world.

You have to play a very important role in this task. The Army is being nationalized. Perhaps you know now there would be no European in the Operational Command. Now we have to manage the Army ourselves. There are great opportunities before you. Everything is coming into your hands and it will be for you to prove yourself equal to this great responsibility. You should keep above party politics and distinctions of caste or creed should have no place in your ranks.

There was till recently a very large number of European officers in the Army. Some of them have left and the rest are going away. By the end of March there will be no European officers except a few hundred who will be retained as advisers. You shall have to fill their places. We have a sufficient number of Indian officers and if there is a shortage, we shall create more.

You fought gallantly in the past and proved yourself first class fighters, but then you fought for others ; now you have to fight for your own country under your own Government. Your responsibility has thus vastly increased and will continue to increase. You should prepare yourselves for that responsibility. On the civil side there is no European officer now and on the military side also shortly there will be none.

We too have been fighting during the last 35 years under the guidance of Gandhiji. We had no guns, but we used the unfailing weapon of non-violence. We succeeded in our struggle for freedom and today India is free and in Free India there are vast opportunities for you. We too had no experience of administration on the civil side but we shouldered the responsibility. Responsibility makes shoulders strong and we have become strong. Now it is for us on the civil side and for you on the military side to make an all-out effort to maintain and consolidate this hard-won freedom. Let yours be the privilege to do this job and enhance and guard the reputation of Free India.

“ NO TIME FOR GRIEVING ”

Shillong,

January 2, 1948.

I DESIRED to see for myself after 22 years the progress which Assam had made during this period. More particularly I wanted to see how Assam had been affected by recent events including the separation of a part of Sylhet. India has had to shoulder a great burden ; this has involved suffering and privation. It has also filled all of us with deep sorrow. During the struggle for freedom although we had borne tremendous suffering we had never flinched or grieved because the very struggle contained zest and keenness which conquered half-heartedness and sorrow. We thus won Freedom but if we had not suddenly turned mad we would have started reaping its fruit and enhancing our prestige and reputation in the eyes of the world. Instead of appreciating the value of what we had achieved, we behaved worse than animals. It was in no light-hearted manner that we agreed to partition. This



price was necessary to gain freedom and to live in freedom. However, there is no time now for grieving over what has happened. We must now forget what we have suffered. We must remember that we have still our brethren across the frontier whom we have to evacuate and settle in this country. We hope Pakistan will not give us any trouble ; instead it will assist us in that task so that we may accomplish it peacefully and successfully in order that each of us may settle down to the vital task of reconstruction which awaits us. Thereafter there would be no bone of contention.

In this connection, I appreciate that Kashmir and Hyderabad are still the two problems which remain outstanding. Though contrary to what Pakistan contends, Junagadh has ceased to be a problem. Of these two problems, Hyderabad, I am certain, would itself realise the path of wisdom and sanity. But if it did not, the problem would not remain confined to Hyderabad alone, but would have wide repercussions. There are four and a half crores of Muslims in the rest of India who are bound to be affected if Hyderabad releases what will in effect be a cloud of poisoned atmosphere. As regards Kashmir, I am definite that the problem will settle itself sooner than many expected but if it persists, while it may damage India to some extent it will finish Pakistan. India intends to wish Pakistan well. All the problems incidental to partition have been amicably settled. Surely, that is not like enemies but like mutual well-wishers. If only the problem of evacuation and exchange of population had been settled successfully and satisfactorily, relations between India and Pakistan would have been much better. . . .

Words cannot describe the horror of sufferings which the Punjabis have suffered. The rehabilitation of refugees is a very difficult task and in that task I invite the co-operation of every citizen of every province. There is no room here for provincial parochialism or for inter-provincial jealousies. If such tendencies develop, it would mean the ruin of India. Instead there must be rivalries in advancement and prosperity. I, therefore, thank the people of Shillong for the purse of Rs. 10,000 which has been presented for the relief of the refugees. What matters so much is not the contribution but the spirit behind it. . . .

I recall how only six months ago there was a general talk of Rajastan which if it had materialised would have meant that the whole body politic of India would have been covered with ulcers. Instead we have achieved integration and unity which have promised immense potentialities for glory and greatness. It is now for all of you either to mend or mar your future. If you want to secure your future you could do so only by unity in which lies strength. I am happy that the people of Assam have forgotten and forgiven the efforts which the Muslim population made for the

achievement of Pakistan. I hope that this good turn will be taken up and you will achieve unity. This obviously means that if there is a struggle with Pakistan, Muslims in India must stand by their country. They must tell Pakistan, "You have got what you wanted. For heaven's sake let us now live in peace."

I have a special word for the young men whom I see around me. I know that many of you wished to sponsor Socialism but you must realise that unity should come first. It is no use merely crying "We are Socialists". You cannot comprehend Socialism by reading text-books or listening to learned speeches. You must first understand what it means in practice and how the ground has to be prepared for it. You must realize how long England took to become socialistic, and America does not even talk of it now. They say I am a friend of the Rulers and the capitalists; but I am a friend of the Harijans, the poor and the tribes. I am also a friend of the Socialists. Unlike many who indulge in the parrot cry of Socialism I have no property of my own. Before you talk of Socialism, you must ask yourself how much wealth you have created by your own labour. If you have created nothing the parrot would have flown and the cage would be empty. By experience, I am convinced that what is necessary is for us to learn how to produce wealth and then to produce and thereafter to think what to do with it. What the province wants most is not this parrot cry of Socialism but unity and strength. Yours is a land for gods to live in. Its air, its natural scenery, its pure atmosphere, its sweet water would attract even gods if our hearts were pure, but the population was lazy and it did not know how to make the best of resources. You must first, therefore, get rid of your enemy which is laziness. There is so much to be done. If you produce your own cloth, your own food and abstain from drinks you can change the entire rural atmosphere. You have then to harness your rivers. You have established a High Court and a University. You must concentrate on this useful and constructive work and not lose yourselves in theoretical disputes about Socialism. Some people feel that they can settle all problems by wielding the big stick and by reciting *ad nauseam* the elementary ideas about Socialism. They forget that it is not coercion or hatred but affection and regard which would prove most effective. That is the divine way of doing things. You have also to look after the border of which you are the gate-keepers. It is a big responsibility for it involves dealing with the enemies and welcoming friends. The natural sceneries are an asset to your province. There may not be the loftiness of the buildings in Calcutta. There may not be the wealth of the cities but they have beauty and naturalness. Although I am going to Calcutta, a bigger place and would stay in a bigger Government House, I would miss the simplicity and natural

life that I have come across in Shillong. I am sure I shall not see anything like it.

I ask you to make full use of your Prime Minister, a self-sacrificing man of ability and truly competent ; and your Governor who has been specially selected for you, and who is working for you. His experience of men and affairs is unrivalled.

I wish you create in Assam a model for the rest of India. I hope during the coming few years, I can see something of what you accomplish to this end. In your achievements I shall find the noblest gesture that could ever be the luck of any individual to receive.

“ GOOD OUT OF EVIL ”

A vast crowd of more than half a million assembled at the Calcutta Maidan on 3rd January, 1948, to hear the Deputy Prime Minister, when on his way back from Shillong, he halted at Calcutta. In his speech he stressed the imperative necessity to produce and become industrially advanced if Freedom was to be preserved. Partition, he pointed out, was a regrettable necessity and India must extract good out of evil. He deprecated the talk of a Hindu State and denounced strikes and violence and also exploitation of labour for political purposes.

The speech had an electric effect. The general strike planned for the next day ended in a fiasco.

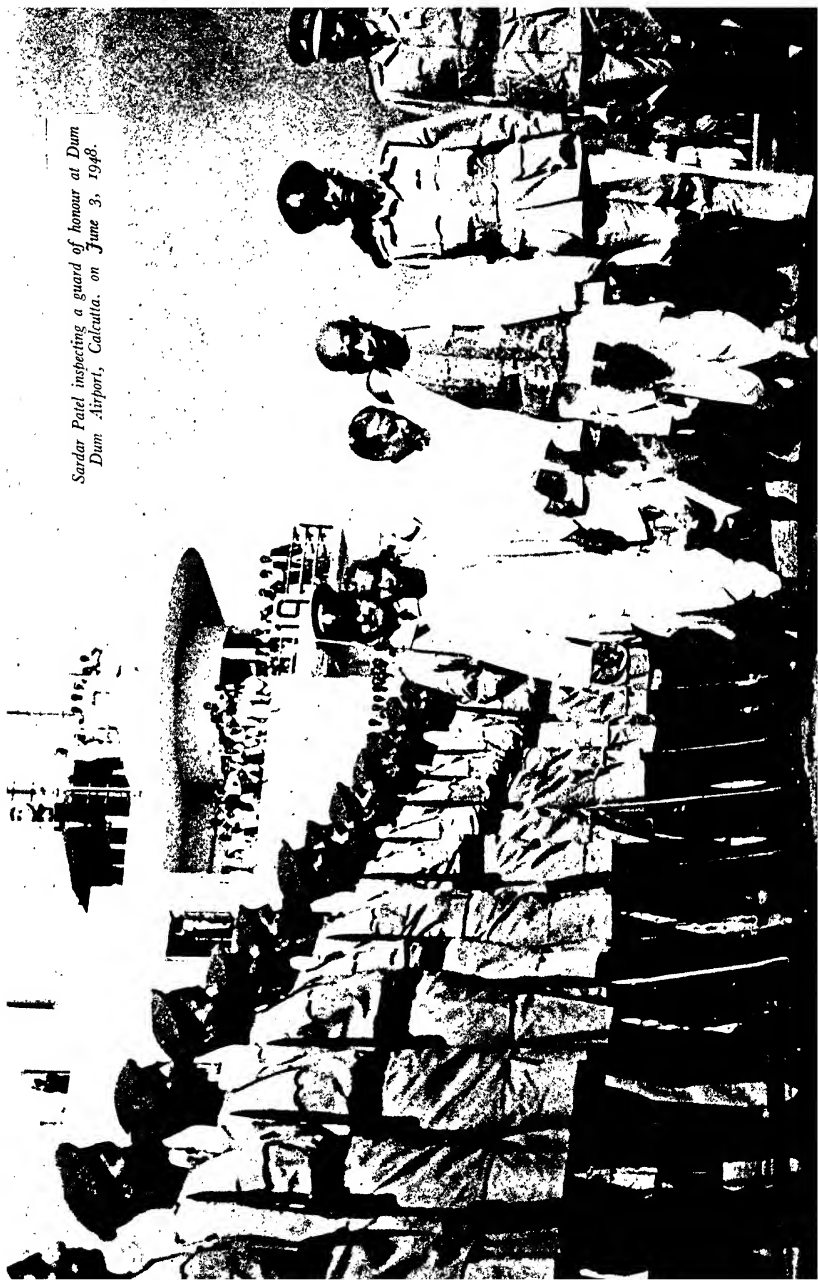
*Calcutta,
January 3, 1948.*

You all know how immediately after attaining independence India was overtaken by serious difficulties which taxed the energies of Government and people alike. We all wanted independence and we have secured it. Our life's mission has been fulfilled. I have no doubt Asia will follow suit. Burma is gaining its independence tomorrow. But the overall question remains whether we realize that we have won independence and whether we appreciate the full significance of the event. This again raises the issues : how we should utilise the freedom which we have won after such heroic struggles and how we should prepare for the enjoyment of its fruits. It is in this connection that I want to place a few thoughts before you, for seldom do such occasions arise when we can open out our hearts to you.

I sympathise deeply with the people of Bengal in the afflictions which the separation of East and West Bengal has brought about. We have all been deeply affected by it, but it is profitless now to go into the question as to why we accepted it. Our main task is and should be to extract good out of evil.

There is no reason why despite partition there should be a wall of hostility between East and West Bengal. You have one language, a common culture, common traditions and a common way of life. All these inevitably draw people together. I cannot therefore understand why there should be any ill-will. The same, in a wider sphere, applies to Pakistan and India.

*Sardar Patel inspecting a guard of honour at Dum
Dum Airport, Calcutta, on June 3, 1948.*



Nevertheless, I cannot disguise the fact that the situation is full of dangerous possibilities. But danger does not indicate panic. Instead it calls forth alertness to ensure that nothing is done to incur blame or reproof. India, as it has been left after partition, is not a small country. A population of 30 crores provides an immense field for constructive work.

Even though we were overwhelmed by disturbances after the Independence Day, we have accomplished a great deal. We have carried out successfully and effectively separation of armed services, stores, both civil and military, and of many other large undertakings incidental to partition.

We have settled all this out of court. In addition, we have carried out an exchange of 40 to 50 lakhs of people on each side. Any Government in the world would have been overwhelmed by such tremendous responsibilities, but thank God, we have weathered the storm and turned the corner.

This, however, emphasizes the necessity of cleaning our decks for further action and purifying the atmosphere so that the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation can be carried out in a peaceful atmosphere.

If you reflect on the condition of India today, you will realize how critical the position is. India is short of food and has to pay a heavy price for imports to make up the deficiency. If we have to digest freedom we have to have a strong army which involves considerable equipment for the three services, Army, Navy and Air Force. If we do not do it or cannot do it, independence cannot be long sustained.

This involves a strong industrial support without which our armed forces cannot accomplish much, but the fact remains that despite the spurt and impetus given by the war, India is still backward in industrial development. Financially, India has turned from a debtor to a creditor country, but unfortunately that credit cannot be utilized, and, on the whole, the position is worse than before.

For an all-out industrial effort which is necessary in order to promote India's industries, support from labour is indisputably necessary, but labour has fallen on evil days. Its organisers know only one thing and believe only in one method. That is to prop up their leadership by strikes.

They do not seem to realize that if they killed industries, labour itself would cease to exist. This does not mean, however, that labour should not get its reward. What labour is entitled to must be settled and settled satisfactorily and peacefully. But for that, the correct method is not stoppage of work, nor sabotage, but arbitration. It is only then that Government can see to it that

labour gets its just reward. If the leaders of labour continue to follow their present methods, nothing but disaster awaits the country. Let them look around for guidance. Other countries have advanced industrially. In America there is no labour problem. In England there is a Socialist Government but it does not have to use force or resort to firing. Labour responds to its call patriotically.

It is in this context that we must look into the recent incident in which some people attempted to force the hands of the Government of West Bengal in regard to the Public Safety Bill. If they felt that the Government was not doing the right thing, they should have represented to the Working Committee or could have appealed to the people's vote but instead they resorted to coercion, and coercion of a worst type.

It is not the democratic way but the goondas' way of doing things, and I deprecate that in the city of Calcutta such a thing should have been perpetrated.

In another small State worse things have happened. When we secured the merger of Kharswan State as an interim measure, we decided to give its administration to the province of Orissa. An agitation grew up that it should merge into Bihar. We made it plain that we would look into this question impartially and come to a final decision. In the meantime, let Orissa administer it. What was the result? An agitation was organised and innocent people were misled into taking the law into their own hands. The result was that the police had to open fire and some lives were lost. Everybody must regard it as a bad thing, but it is worthwhile reflecting as to why it happened.

It was merely because we have forgotten so quickly what we strove to imbibe during so many years of struggle, so much so that in two provinces where our own Governments are functioning, a small dispute as to which province this small State should go, gave rise to such unfortunate occurrences.

This is not the way we should function. Those who are not satisfied with the way things are going on, have got the opportunity to remove the Ministry and to take over the reins of office.

Whatever else may be said against the present Ministry in Bengal, there is at least one thing about which there is no dispute, that after many years, Bengal has secured a band of workers whose honesty and incorruptibility are not in question. I have no doubt they will learn by experience, but if any of you feel that you are better equipped, I have already told you how to secure the removal of the Ministry. But goondaism cannot and will not be allowed to prevail. I sincerely tell you that we cannot afford it when we have such delicate tasks to fulfil.

The country is saved from fragmentation by the accession of States. Otherwise, Rajastan would have been something worse than Pakistan. There is all round scarcity of consumer goods. The moral is plain. You should have patience so that these stupendous responsibilities could be satisfactorily discharged by the Central and Provincial Governments.

You have been slaves for 200 years. Now that your own men are in office, why can't you have patience for a few years? Instead, we have the sickening spectacle of a so-called token one-day strike by Labour in Bombay after their representatives had subscribed to three years of non-strike truce. And what for was this strike organized? Admittedly to show that leadership of Labour is with the organizers. This is sheer nonsense. Holidays with pay are always welcome to anyone. A strike of this kind, which does not involve loss of wages, cannot, therefore, show with whom the leadership lies. Calcutta has had a taste of a general strike once. I hope you have not forgotten its lesson and in all humility I ask you to avoid its repetition.

I have been blamed that I am a friend of Rajas, capitalists and zamindars, but I claim to be a friend of Labour and the poor as well. Since I have followed Gandhiji, I have resolved not to own any property and I have none. But like Gandhiji I want to make the capitalists also understand which way their true duty lies. I cannot succumb to the prevalent fashion to pose as leaders or to attempt to gain leadership by abusing Princes, capitalists, etc., without rhyme or reason.

Many said some time ago that by bringing in Princes I had harmed the cause of the people, but they were not prepared for the merger of 40 states into a neighbouring province in two days; nor did they seem to realize the elementary fact that if Princes wish to exist, they cannot do so without the people.

Then these gentlemen say we want to establish a MAZDOOR RAJ. There can be no quarrel about it. In the United Kingdom, they too have a Labour Government in office, but it has not assumed office by following the path of strikes. They realize that strikes ultimately harm the interests of the people and of Labour itself. If Labour does not see in which direction its interest lies, nothing but harm will come to this country, and Labour itself would cease to exist.

If they want to carry on Government, there are only two ways of doing that. One is the path laid out by Mahatma Gandhi. That is the establishment of Ram Raj in which there is complete peace, freedom from crime and coercion of any kind.

All of you can try to achieve it, but there is no doubt that you cannot get it overnight. The alternative to this method is a firm

Government, backed by a strong army, strong navy and strong air force and strong police, but ultimately governed by the will of the people.

Under such a system the Government in office is entitled to the support of the people unless it follows a wrong path. Prafulla Babu* is a servant of the people. They can place before him all their grievances, for he is not inaccessible like foreigners. Bengal should be proud of its Ministry, its police and its public services. It should teach them how to be good public servants. Similarly the Ministry cannot act in an irresponsible manner. The Public Safety Bill is being attacked, because it is taken to be an encroachment on civil liberties of the people, but they forget that the Bill is to be enforced by popular representatives. If our own men utilize the provisions of the Bill to harass their political opponents, they cannot remain in office for a day. If, therefore, anybody wants to attack Government on this plank, he is making a great mistake.

They also say that the new Ministry is behaving like its predecessors. Even if they did so, where was the objection? After all, they are responsible and responsive men. They cannot harm anyone without paying the penalty for it.

It is in these circumstances that the Ministry has thought fit, placing before it the interest of the province, to ask for special powers and they are entitled to get them. Democracy has just been born. Let it be on its firm feet before taking it to task for its working.

Calcutta is the largest city of India. Formerly it commanded the leadership of this country. It should do so even now. But it is not the old Calcutta which wielded the torch of leadership in the olden days. Nevertheless, there is one thing of which Calcutta can be proud. It has escaped the storm which affected other parts of India after partition. For if Calcutta had also given itself up to bestiality, the whole country would have been in flames. The spark which was lit on the 16th August, 1946, when Calcutta had the taste of a general strike and direct action has not yet died down.

We are not out of the wood. We have to take out Hindus and Sikhs from Sind, for despite all assurances of protection, they cannot remain there for a day. Those assurances are empty words. Everybody knows that from peon right up to the Governor, there is not a Hindu or Sikh in the Services.

Authorities in Pakistan wish to compel people to stay. The present situation is thus fraught with difficulties. Only this morning I saw a long statement of Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan in which he had brought in Junagadh along with Kashmir, but there is no parallel. In regard to Kashmir we say it is better

* Dr. P. C. Ghose, the then Premier of West Bengal.

to have an open fight than to have disguised warfare such as has been going on. It is for this reason that we have gone to the U.N.O. to have the issue finally settled.

But in Junagadh things have settled themselves without a fight. The Dewan had asked for our intervention and the Nawab fled. The 'Provisional Government' started from the Junagadh territory itself and did not get any support either from the Indian Dominion or from its population. There is, therefore, nothing common between Junagadh and Kashmir. But even then we have made it plain that a plebiscite should be the deciding factor in the Kashmir situation.

But how can any plebiscite be held when fighting is going on? If we have ultimately to save Kashmir by the sword, where is the scope for plebiscite? I should like to make one thing clear, that we shall not surrender an inch of Kashmir territory to anybody.

As regards the controversy of a secular *versus* Hindu State, there can be no serious talk of a Hindu State. But one fact is indisputable. There are $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Muslims in India many of whom helped the creation of Pakistan. How can one believe that they will change overnight?

The Muslims say that they are loyal citizens and therefore why should anybody doubt their *bona fides*? To them, I would say: "Why do you ask us? Search your own conscience."

India only wishes to be left alone. I would tell Pakistan, "you have now got Pakistan. I wish you joy of it. It is only when your teeth are soured that you need come back to us. You want to make Pakistan a heaven on earth. We ourselves welcome it, for after all, we shall also benefit from it."

But the Pakistan authorities say that their enemies are conspiring to destroy Pakistan. I would say to them that the enemies of Pakistan are not outside Pakistan but inside. We treated Pakistan generously in the matter of division of assets, but at the same time we could not obviously tolerate even a pie to be used for making bullets to shoot at us. The settlement is like a consent decree. The decree will be executed when the outstanding points are satisfactorily settled. This they represent as repudiation. If we wish to repudiate it, why should we have come to any settlement at all.

I would, therefore, earnestly plead that Pakistan authorities should reflect on the course which they have adopted. I can assure them that we have nothing but their good at heart and we want nothing more than to be left in peace. Let them, therefore, create conditions in which both the Governments can settle down to their responsibilities and to the tasks of amelioration which demand urgent attention.

The need of the hour, it is commonly agreed, is that India must produce more in order to exist as an independent country. India also has an opportunity of assuming the leadership of Asia, but this opportunity will be missed if we cannot set our own economy in order and advance our industries to such an extent as to be able to meet the requirements of deficit countries in Asia.

But when we ask them to produce more, people are advised to go slow. This is not serving India's interests at all. Instead, it is the surest way of losing the freedom which we have secured after so much sacrifice of blood and toil.

Let us not act like the monkey who failed to appreciate the worth of a jewel. We old men have fulfilled our life's mission but the young men have now to shoulder the burden. If they fail, India will perish and along with it Labour will also go the way of ruin.

I thank you all for the warmth of reception you have accorded me. I recognize this as symbolic of the loyalty which the Congress still commands. Despite the shock which partition has given to Bengal you all have stood firm in your support to the Congress. I would assure you that we all have suffered a blow along with you, but it is no use eating the fruit when it is still unripe. We shall not ask Pakistan to come back to us until it has realized its error. You should think of the future and the past will take care of itself.

I can tell you this that if we had not accepted partition India would have fallen into bits. Now that we have been able to salvage a major part of India and have been able to build it up into an extensive single unit, let us make it powerful. If we become prosperous and powerful, I have no doubt that small bits of territory round India would themselves seek our shelter.

If young men behave with discipline and if we unite our ranks, we shall certainly achieve that destiny. The world is looking at us to see how we avail ourselves of our hard-won freedom. Let us not do anything which would make us hang our heads in shame. Instead, let us act in a manner which would not only rehabilitate the prestige and reputation which we have lost by the recent unfortunate events, but also enhance it, and carve out for India a glorious place in the comity of nations.

“ REALIZE YOUR DUTIES. ”

Laying the foundation-stone of the Gandhi-Mandir in commemoration of the grant of full responsible government to the people of Bhavnagar State, Sardar Patel made this speech to a large gathering on January 15, 1948.

*Bhavnagar,
January 15, 1948.*

I ASSURE the Princes that their rights would be safe in my hands.

After the Rajkot Satyagraha, I had taken a vow that I would not visit Kathiawar till full responsible government was achieved. I am glad that it has been fulfilled now. I congratulate the Ruler on his granting full responsible government. I firmly believed that no sooner had India achieved her freedom, than Indian Princes would realize their duties and grant responsible government to their people. Within twenty-four hours of my visit, 40 States of Orissa and C.P. decided to hand over their powers to the Indian Dominion and merge with the provinces.

I ask the people to realize fully their duties. They should not give way to their jubilation so as to harm their own interests. I have heard complaints from several Princes of Kathiawar about the misbehaviour of the people in their States, and I warn them that such a state of affairs can no longer be tolerated. People want full responsible government, and not unfettered government.

Mahatma Gandhi has laid down four principles for ideal government. They are : full development of cottage industries, rule of village *panchayats*, removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Unity of Kathiawar should not be lost sight of in all your deliberations, so that it might finally be merged into a greater Gujerat Province where the elected representatives of the various States of Kathiawar and Cutch might take their seats and mould the future.

When I was asked why I was coming here, I replied that I had a responsibility upon me. The Princes are uneasy. I want to comfort them and tell them wherein their interests lie. It was once

a dream that Kathiawar should be made into a single unit and Gujerat a separate province. Today it is nearing fulfilment. Gujerat, Kathiawar and Cutch should unite and do justice to each other. Everyone should take pride that it is his province.

“ MISSION FULFILLED ”

This speech was delivered at a big public meeting held at Shivaji Park, Bombay, on January 18. Sardar Patel expressed his pain at the destructive activities indulged in by the younger generation when they should come forward and lighten the burden of the older men.

He expressed relief at the termination of Gandhiji's fast and appealed to the audience to create a peaceful and harmonious atmosphere.

He criticized the inconsistencies of the Socialists who participated in the discussion resulting in the three-year industrial truce between the Government, Capital and Labour, but later opposed it in a resolution in Bombay. It was deplorable, he pointed out, that tons of foodgrains lay rotting in Bombay harbour on account of strikes of the Port Trust Workers.

It is remarkable how within a few days of this speech the strike was called off.

*Bombay,
January 18, 1948.*

..... OUR life's mission has been fulfilled. We undertook the responsibility of running the administration of the country on our old shoulders as we desired to hand over the same to the younger generations as a running concern.

We expect the youth of the country to come forward and share our responsibility and lighten our burden.

It, however, pains me to find that the younger generation as represented by Socialists and others are frittering away their energies in destructive activities such as organising strikes, thus hampering the work of reconstruction.

If the youth continues to behave in this irresponsible manner, I for one would not hesitate to lay down the reins of office.

The Rulers of small States of Kathiawar have decided to form a Union of the States of Saurashtra. The representatives of these Rulers will meet me on Monday morning to discuss the details of the Union.

It is a great relief that Gandhiji has broken his fast. I shall not, however, stop at this. I want you to go deep into the causes that brought about the fast, and eradicate them once for all. It

pains me to find that free India is not treading on the right path. What happened in the country during the last five months have hurt the noble soul of the Mahatma. I appeal to you to create a peaceful and harmonious atmosphere in the country which is the prerequisite of all progress.

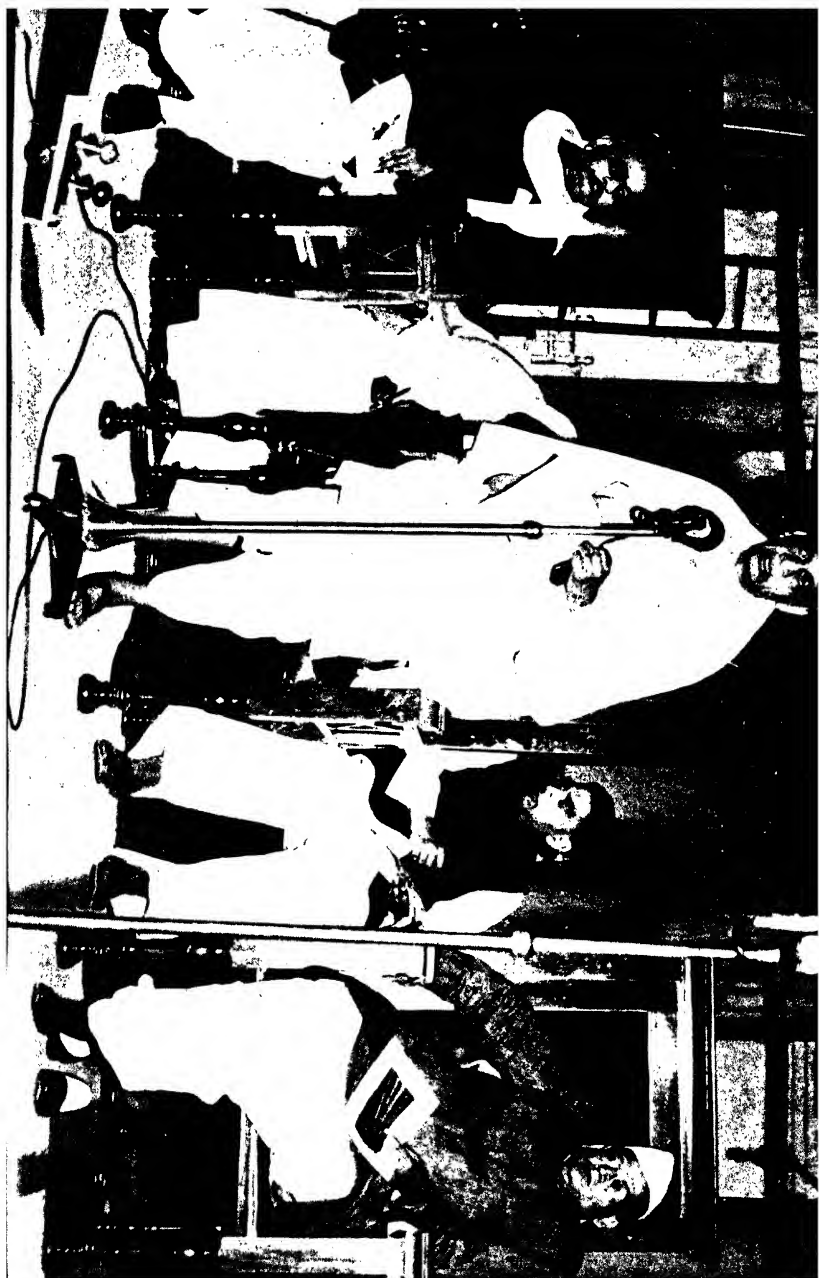
I strongly repudiate the charge that Congress Ministries are following the same high-handed and antiquated methods of the old British bureaucracy and that Congressmen have become capitalists. The division of the country has created several new problems which have immensely taxed our brains during the last five months. There is scarcity of food and cloth and other necessities of life. We need a powerful army for defence. We cannot rely on foreign countries for imports. Everything we have to manufacture in our own country. The transfer of population following partition has created great complications and added to our difficulties. We have to provide food, clothing and shelter for lakhs of refugees and rehabilitate them

We have always taken the Socialists into our confidence. We consulted them on the partition of the country, but they could not put forward their view-point. When we consulted them on the issue of decontrol they emphatically demanded the immediate withdrawal of all controls. But as soon as the rationing of food-grains was done away with they passed a resolution expressing the view that the Government had bungled. The Socialist leaders had participated in the discussions regarding the three-year industrial truce at New Delhi between the representatives of Government, capitalists and labour, but the same was opposed by a Socialist resolution in Bombay. This attitude is simply inexplicable.

I tell the Socialists that the right leadership is that which compels the workers to follow a course of action which is in their interest, no matter whether they liked it or not.

In this connection I may refer to the proposed rally of all Bombay workers on January 25 next, as sponsored by Mr. Ashok Mehta. No useful purpose will be served by such misguided enthusiasm. Tons of foodgrains lay rotting in Bombay harbour on account of strike of the Port Trust Workers. The labour leaders who were responsible for this strike ought to have remembered that the Port Trust was under the control of the Central Government and that no capitalist interest was involved in it. It is a mistake to abuse the capitalist for this strike and to connect it with private enterprise.

I advise the citizens of Bombay to refuse any support to such uncalled for strikes which corrode the body politic.



“ A HAPPY THOUGHT ”

Inaugurating the Patna Station of the All-India Radio on January 26, “ Independence Day ”, the Deputy Prime Minister referred to the 8-year plan recently produced by the Government of India to provide greater facilities to the whole country so that the voice of the radio might reach not only towns but also distant villages. He hoped that the margin between revenue and expenditure in this Department would be reduced with increase in licenses and that the quality of service would also improve. He concluded with a reference to this happy date (January 26) which had in the past been associated with the taking of the freedom pledge.

Patna,

January 26, 1948.

BROADCASTING in India is a plant of comparatively recent growth. Nevertheless, India has made considerable progress in making the country radio-minded and in the provision of facilities for broadcasting during the last ten years. The growth has hitherto been, however, without a systematic planning. For the first time a definite plan was prepared in connection with the various development projects of the post-war period. The beginnings of this planning were, however, made while the war was still on.

The project for a radio station at Patna was sanctioned in 1940 and would have materialised earlier but for the fact that certain other priorities commanded our attention during the war and there were constructional and other difficulties which held up the project. Thanks to the facilities given by the Bihar Government in making available a building ideally situated for our purpose, half-way between Bankipur and New Patna, as well as Patna Railway Station and Digba Ghat, it has been possible to complete the project within what must be regarded as a creditably short time.

The studio installation work started on November 17 immediately after the building was made available to us. It has thus taken only two months to complete the installation.

The present building is undoubtedly a temporary arrangement. The Government of Bihar have again been kind enough

to offer an excellent site of about eighteen acres near the High Court for the permanent studio building on a nominal rental. The lease will be finalised shortly and Patna will then have an up-to-date studio building. This work would, however, proceed in the usual course and will take some time.

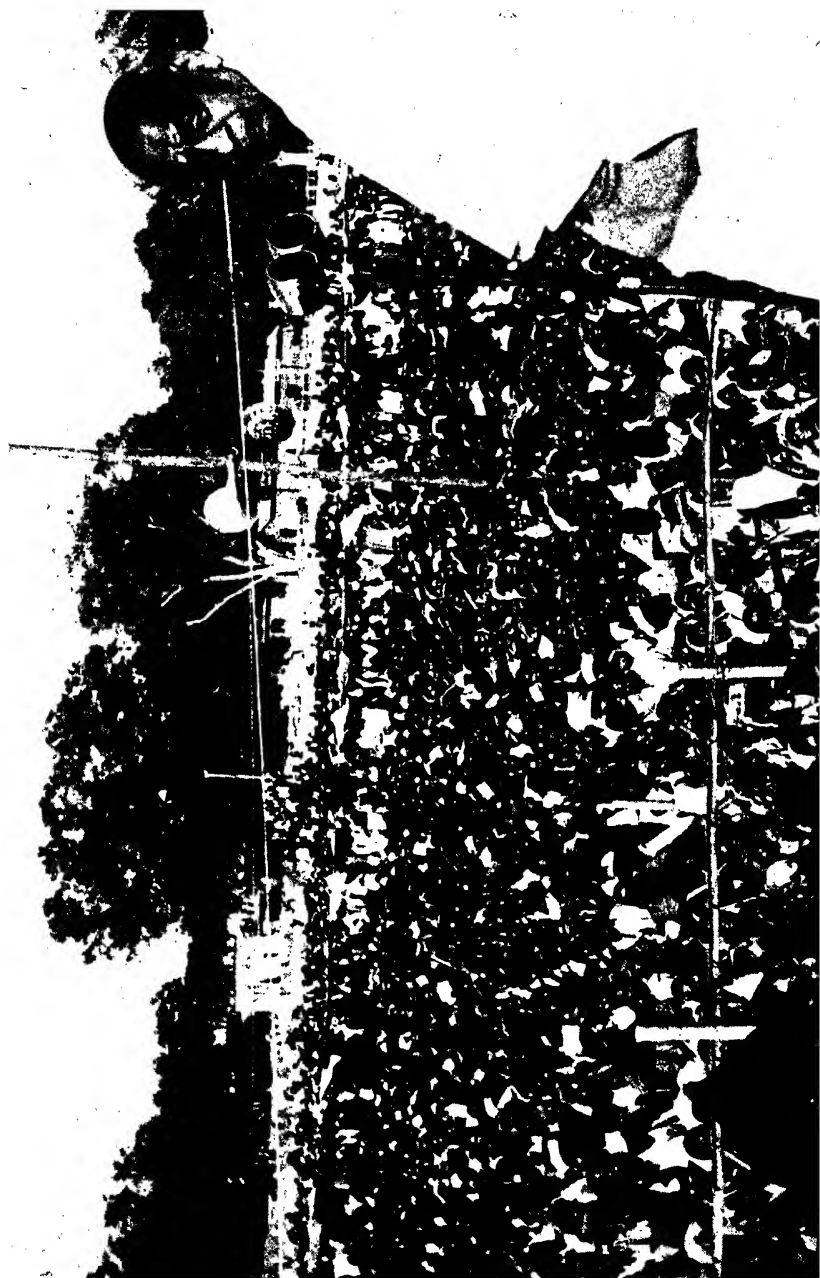
In the eight-year plan which we have recently produced, we have endeavoured to balance all these competing factors with a view to providing as full and complete facilities as possible in the five principal zones in which we have divided India for the purpose of broadcasting. These zones have been determined after taking into account linguistic, musical and similar cultural affinities. We have also to ensure that the voice of the radio reaches not only the comparatively well-off town dweller but also important rural centres where community sets have been installed, or distant villages where an enterprising listener not only possesses a radio set but perhaps shares its benefit with the rest of the community. In the province of Bihar I find that the total number of licenses current on September 30, 1947, was only 759.

We can assume that ninety per cent of these are concentrated in urban areas. It is, therefore, obvious that if the radio station is to serve its purpose, the Provincial Government must arrange for the distribution of community sets in rural areas on a comparatively large scale. Along with this there must be a drive for more receiving sets in the town, so that the educative and instructive function of the broadcasting centre can achieve the best and widest possible results. It is, therefore, for the Government and the people of Bihar to utilise to its best advantage the facility which the Central Government is providing for them.

The benefit of this service would be clear from the fact that while we are going to spend about Rs. 5 lakhs annually on staff, programmes, etc., for our transmissions from Patna, the total income from licenses, which is the only source of revenue does not exceed Rs. 76,000. With the increase in licenses, of receiving sets, it would be possible for us not only to reduce the margin between revenue and expenditure, but also to improve the quality of our service so that Patna can become in the course of time a station worthy of the province and of the culture which the province represents.

It was a happy thought that I should be asked to inaugurate the radio station on a day which had been in the past associated with the taking of the freedom pledge. That this day should have been chosen for the installation of this radio—the symbol of the freedom of the air—is indeed a happy augury for its success and prosperity.

*Sardar Patel making an impassioned appeal for unity
and peace at a public meeting in Patna, Janu-
ary 26, 1948.*



“ NO WEAKENING OF THE CONGRESS ”

When the Socialist Party of India withdrew from the Congress, and its members resigned their seats in the U.P. Legislature, by-elections took place.

Sardar Patel issued this statement from Dehra Dun on the eve of the elections, on June 26, 1948.

*Dehra Dun,
June 26, 1948.*

THE circumstances in which by-elections have been forced on certain constituencies in the U.P. are unfortunate and regrettable. I have never failed to emphasize that the watchword for the country today is unity and consolidation.

This is not the time for controversies ; instead, it is the time when we should close up our ranks and deal with the many serious and important problems that face the country, with determination, single-mindedness of purpose, unity of aims and vigour. I am quite clear in my mind that unless we do this we gravely imperil the present and future of this country.

It was less than a year ago that India won her freedom after a hard-fought struggle. With freedom came the responsibility for our own affairs. Before we were able to plant our feet firmly we were overtaken by catastrophies of the Punjab disturbances which would have shaken to the foundations any Government in any part of the world.

By the grace of God and the support which we secured from the people we have just survived that crisis. The sudden unexpected assassination of the Father of the Nation came as a stunning blow which paralysed all the vitality and activities of the country. These crises threaten the very existence of the State but we are still faced with another crisis, perhaps greater and potentially more threatening than the others, for this crisis affects both the foundations and future of the democratic regime and peace and prosperity in this country. If we cannot overcome this crisis I am afraid the future of our motherland cannot but be gloomy and dark.

In such a situation it is incumbent on each one of us not to create difficulties or obstructions but to join in a common endeavour of uplifting the country above the social and economic morass in which it finds itself. The Congress, as far as I can see, is the only organization which can hold the country together. If you disintegrate the Congress you disintegrate the country. It is not my purpose or my wish to suggest that there should be no criticism.

Indeed no Government can thrive without criticism. But the criticism that should be offered should be constructive in its nature and helpful in its content. Destructive criticism or activities subversive of Government are bound to recoil on the critics themselves and to make for disruption, without in any way advancing the interests of the country.

Such constructive criticism could and should have come from inside the Congress. Instead, our Socialist friends have chosen a different path. They have parted company because they felt that it served their interests best. Whether it serves the country at all perhaps did not seem to bother them even for a moment.

The economic programme of the Congress which was drawn up with their consent and approval they now call as a capitalist one and accuse the Congress leaders as capitalist agents. They have not even hesitated to make political capital out of the country's misfortunes and tragedies. The result was inevitable. I have no doubt the electorate in the U.P. will again teach them a lesson in political wisdom and patriotism.

I should like to make one more point clear. It is far from me to suggest that there is no room for implementation of social or economic theories in this country. My only concern is to ensure that before this country becomes a field of social or economic experiments, its foundations are well and truly laid and its economic and social structure is sufficiently strong to withstand the stress of those experiments.

If we fail to consolidate the country or to exploit its industrial potentials by pooling all available resources, *i.e.*, those of the State and private enterprise, disaster undoubtedly faces the country so that neither socialism nor any other "ism" would find any healthy growth.

I would, therefore, appeal to the electorate of the U.P. to vote for the Congress, their oldest and tried organization, which has won for them freedom and which has steered the course of the country through the crisis which faced it immediately after the attainment of freedom. They must realize that any weakening of that organization is bound to spell disaster for the country which they love so much, and in the present and future of which each one must play his own distinct and constructive role.

They have a Government led by such an old and tried captain as Pandit Pant. A leader of his eminence and position is an invaluable asset. They must realise that there is no alternative to the present Government and it is their bounden duty to strengthen its hands by giving it a thundering vote of confidence.

“ AN UNASHAMED IMPERIALIST ”

On June 26, 1948, in his speech to a Conservative Party rally, Mr. Winston Churchill made an unwarranted attack on India. In reply, the Deputy Prime Minister issued this statement from Dehra Dun on June 29, 1948.

*Dehra Dun,
June 29, 1948*

THE Right Hon'ble Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Leader of the Opposition and Britain's war-time Premier, while bemoaning the disappearance of the title of Emperor of India from the Royal Titles, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant but extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India both as member of Government and in Opposition is well known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country and, in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unashamed imperialist and at a time when imperialism is on its last legs, he is the proverbial last ditcher for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency gain more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build friendship between India and Britain has been wrecked by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predilections. It is well-known that when the Cripps' offer was made, it was he who prevented negotiations from achieving success. It was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice is done to India's legitimate aspirations and its free and willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla Conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of India and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of freedom's struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the evil of partition and the disasters that attended it. Fortunately for Britain the cup of disasters was by then full and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen, Lord Mountbatten,

and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been to a large extent undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still seized by his favourite disease Hindu-phobia and is determined to wreck all that good work by his most-unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence.

It might well be expected of a man of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he would exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked in such terms the Government and the people of a sister Dominion, I shall leave to His Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine. I shall only say this, that we have been patient for too long with such unseemly, prejudiced and mischievous attacks by high-placed Britishers on our administration, our leaders and our people. I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged the world's conscience by a barefaced and wanton policy of racial prejudice and an open disregard of fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Churchill's elastic conscience, with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest. I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain they must see that India is in no way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind and that British statesmen and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deepseated prejudice and owing to ignorance, it may be difficult for some of them to do so but if future disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done.

That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all-parties responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves foresaw that if the final stage of the grant of freedom to India were made a party issue, it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as difficult a legacy to India as possible. Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the peak of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was actuating many of the Churchillian agents in power here. We, therefore, decided to drink the bitter cup and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all parties

that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man and would abide by the obligations inherent in the agreement. But obviously he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country.

If proof of his deepseated prejudice and his medieval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifth Muslim he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifth Hindu ; and a creation of the eighteenth century, as the Nizam's State is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an "ancient State". The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind prejudice that must come out prominently. We can well realise what a disaster the British public avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seals of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that through his ancestors, Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or unlearn anything.

Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors. While not one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide and rule policy followed with such masterly activity by Mr. Churchill himself and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Europeans of his way of thinking in this country, whether under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of recent history of India can fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus, for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of history.

It is not clear how far the Tory Party is behind its leader in these acts of indiscretion and unwisdom. Mr. Butler's irrelevant reference to Hyderabad in the foreign affairs debate was the first indication of a section of the Tories still attempting to make capital out of India's troubles. Mr. Churchill's intervention in Parliament

followed up by his speech at a Conservative rally seems to indicate that at least an attempt is being made to whip up enthusiasm in favour of Britain's one-time "faithful ally" against India. I should like to warn the British public against being taken in by these attempts. The question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam would shed the utterly medieval conception of his rule through a ruling caste chosen almost entirely from a militant minority, and accept the democratic method of consulting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives and would recognise the inevitability of the consequences of action and interaction of geographical, economic and other compelling forces on the relationship between Hyderabad and India. But then in order to injure India's interests, these distinguished products of a democratic age would forget the lessons of history and the teachings of democracy and stoop to buttress a regime which still lives in the times that it was born. If therefore disaster overtakes the fortunes of the Nizam, the responsibility will be elsewhere than on the Indian Dominion. I am glad to know that His Majesty's Government have not fallen a prey to these machinations of Mr. Churchill and his henchmen and have refused to treat the Hyderabad issue otherwise than as one of domestic concern of the Indian Dominion. I would, therefore, appeal to the rank and file of the Tory Party not to be misled by these old-world ideas of some of their leaders, but to extend to the Indian Dominion that goodwill and friendship which are as essential in British interest as in India's and to sustain and uphold the fine gesture they made in transferring power to Indian hands. It is only in this spirit and not on the malice and venom of Mr. Churchill's tongue, that an enduring relationship of friendship, co-operation and collaboration can be built between India and Britain and other Members of the Commonwealth.

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